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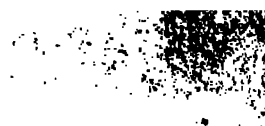
L E T T E R S
ON THE
I M P O R T A N C E
OF THE
R I S I N G G E N E R A T I O N
O F

The laboring part of our fellow-subjects.

V O L. I.

C O N T A I N I N G

*An account of the miserable state of the infant parish poor ;
the great usefulness of the hospital for exposed and deserted
young children properly restricted ; the obligations of paro-
chial officers ; and an historical detail of the whole mortality
of London and Westminster, from 1592 to this time.*



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I N T W O V O L U M E S.

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By JONAS HANWAY, Esq;

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. MILLAR and T. CADELL, opposite Catherine-Street in the Strand; and C. MARSH and G. WOODFALL, at Charing-Cross.

MDCCLXVII.

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TO MY
FELLOW SUBJECTS.
AND
FELLOW CITIZENS.

THESE sheets being written for your service, and the welfare of your children, there seems to be a propriety in offering them to you. If you believe the facts, you will adopt the sentiments. The cause of the poor is the cause of humanity ; but in the eye of religion, which alone can take a comprehensive view of the state of man, the love of God, and the love of our country, unite themselves as one object. This only can check the human heart, expose its deceitfulness and iniquity, or by the *consistency* of our conduct give proof of our sincerity.

Thus we shall avoid that satiety or disgust, which a knowledge of the world is apt to create ; and in spite of all provocations

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cations from without, or malevolency within us, we may cherish a habit of tenderness for the *young*, affection for the *middle aged*, reverence for the *old*, and compassion for all the sons of men: that whatever external distinctions providence shall have appointed, no human Being that bears the image of his maker, may pass unheeded by.

This only can restrain that rapacious unquiet spirit, which at certain periods of national existence, and worldly splendor, is so apt to make inroads on the human breast, and ravage the heart of public and private love. If each is tempted to injure another, to gratify his avarice, his ambition, or any unwarrantable appetency, in the issue every one must be undone.

It would be repugnant to candor to suppose that the most humane people should become careless to each others happiness; or the most wealthy, rapacious; if we did not see that as riches creates power, power makes us impatient of control; and both unite to inflame the passions. Thus a habit of indulgence banishes those humbler and severer thoughts, which curb our natural propensity to evil; so that the very principle

ple that exalts a nation in worldly glory, by the abuse of the kindness of heaven, prepares the way for its destruction.

As a free nation, public love is as essential to our constitution, as charity to the christian religion : neither can be properly supported without the other. And with such advantages as we enjoy, it might be expected we should act the parts of patriots, philosophers and divines, as well as husbandmen, mechanics and merchants. Nor *are* we unapt to think highly of ourselves.—But we rush out of our sphere : we forget what it is to be *great* in lower stations. We throw virtue out of the scale, so that our natural defects kick up the balance.

What are all presumptuous decisions, as if government were subservient to every man's humor and private interest? How seldom do we hear generous and candid constructions of the conduct of superiors, where words or actions will admit of favorable interpretations! Nor do we often find a hearty and zealous concurrence in measures, where the strongest marks appear of a sincere intention to preserve the people.

You are, in effect, the guardians of your own lives ; the protectors of your own laws ; the preservers of your own religion and liberty. It is confessed that if you are to be undone, it must be by yourselves. But this superiority over almost every other people upon the earth, often betrays you into such excesses, as endanger the very being of the object you profess to hold in the highest veneration.

We prostrate ourselves at the shrine of *Liberty* : we pretend to dedicate our lives to her service, and declare our willingness to die for her. We acknowledge that our laws are the bulwarks of our freedom ; but in the same breath we express an impatience, and exercise the utmost ingenuity, either to trample upon the letter, or evade the spirit and intention of laws without restraint.

Laws are the instruments whereby the fabric of government is kept in repair, that under the shelter of it we may live in plenty, peace, and freedom ; defended against the rigorous blasts of times and seasons. But in proportion as we cease to feel a religious awe for it, we shall certainly become

become indifferent whether it stands or falls, not considering that we shall be buried in its ruins. If by long familiarity it grows cheap to the higher classes of the people, the transition in the esteem of the vulgar, is too easy to imagine, as our history abundantly testifies. Tho' we should prove that we have more sense and less hypocrisy than some of our forefathers, in proportion as we are defective in moral rectitude, our understandings will be darkened, and we shall become dupes to our blindness and credulity.—Let us try to be virtuous in order to be safe and happy.

In proportion as injurious practices prevail, tho' within the letter of the law, and we impose the hardest, instead of the easiest terms of happiness to each other, our very liberty will become the instrument of mutual oppression. It is one great instance of our defection from virtue, and even from humanity, that our fellow subjects, the infant poor of these cities, have perished in numbers sufficient to have made up a potent army and a formidable navy.

The

The *love of our country* is an unmeaning phrase, or it is the love of each other ; *that* mutual affection on which we depend for the existence of our laws, religion and liberty, which are always springing with vernal beauty from this prolific root. It is that joyful benignity, and steady hope of immortality, which has made many a *heathen* die with pleasure. Among *christians* it is *charity*, and a resolution to obey the will of the great friend and parent of mankind, with that assurance in *his* promises, which renders life and death equally glorious.

We must grant that there is no express mention, in so many words, of the *love of our country* in any page of the New Testament : but what of this, if the whole is a series of facts and instructions, of such exalted philanthropy as even eclipses the lustre of the purest and most disinterested patriotism ? There is a tremendous fact related, namely, that no less a person than the Son of God voluntarily bled, and died an ignominious death upon the cross for his *country* and mankind ; not only to render them happy here, but for ever ! And as far as mortal men can imitate him, his

followers throughout all generations are commanded to adopt his example, in principle and practice, wherever the providence of God shall lead them. Therefore the thinking, lettered part of mankind, *professing christianity*, must be *patriots*, if they are not fools nor knaves. And even the illiterate who are sincere in heart, and informed of this single fact, will at once shew their obedience to the laws of Christ, and the law of their country; and promote each others happiness by honest industry and mutual affection. What then remains, but that legislators should contrive the best means for our preservation?

When we fix our thoughts intensely on one object only, we are apt to seek for reasons, in support of our opinion, rather than learn how to regulate our opinion by the standard of truth. I now write with caution, but I cannot resist the numerous evidences before me, that we and our forefathers have been *negligent* to a degree that injures our national character, and tarnishes the lustre of British philanthropy. I hope we are in a fair way of recovery; but where life has been so wantonly

tonly sported away, no trust can with consistency be reposed in any thing less than such an *act* of the legislature, with such power of supervising, as shall purify this stream of inhumanity and corruption.

If we shew a hearty concurrence in such measures as experience and humanity dictate, and the authority of the legislature may require, to purge off this morbid humor, which has so long preyed on our vitals; we shall exercise the duty of parishioners; inspect our parish accounts; follow every child of the poor; and judge if justice be done. The laws are open for mercy and justice to infants, as to other subjects: and if we plead their cause, justice will be done.

I do not mean to amuse you with *words*, but to inform you of *facts*, supported by arithmetical demonstration. I hope you will *not amuse yourselves* with expectations or promises which clash with experience and demonstration. If you exert your native generosity, so far from conniving at the destruction of your fellow citizens, because they are poor, and in the helpless state which the God of nature first places all the children

children of men, you will for this very reason protect and defend them.

I am sensible we ought to be guarded, that our zeal may not prompt us to abrogate any part of the parochial, or any other law, which experience hath proved to be of *use*. It is the *abuse* of the law, in the executive part, extended even to life, of which we complain. It is the rights of fellow-subjects, which we mean to preserve: the sacred rights of being cherished in infancy, and permitted to breath the untainted common air; not *uncondemned* to be shut up, as in the noxious vapours of a dungeon, poisoned with improper aliment, or starved for want.

Where it shall appear, that the pure and simple methods used in common life, are either not attempted, or not performed with ordinary ability, suitable to the importance of the object, we must either correct or instruct, or involve ourselves in the guilt of the most pernicious negligence. There is no man of the least observation who does not know, that we have, for time immemorial, considered *parish infants*, in these cities, as a *forlorn hope*, at the very moment that

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the *laws* have made a more effectual provision for them, than for any class of subjects who depend on the industry of parents for a support: yet mortality has long raged amongst them with a kind of pestilential virulence.

Considering the importance of these cities to the whole nation, and that the fault is in the administration of the office, it may be at length hoped that every officer of the least candor, will heartily concur in the enacting any law which shall promise to future generations such a security of the lives of the children of the poor, as he might desire for his own life, or for the lives of his own children. By the great law of retaliation it is life for life: and heaven has guarded the lives of men, in so awful a manner, that the very thought of an injury to them is the most abhorrent to nature.

If any officer finds himself already in a right method, such as he can honestly recommend, and the power is left in his hands to pursue it, would he wish for any thing better than to see such method secured by a law, that he may do as much
good

good as he pleases, whilst he is restrained from doing evil. If these gentlemen are left with the alternative, and do not chuse to take the trouble in so nice a case; or are not conveniently situated to perform the task, such relief may then be given them as experience warrants to be effectual: and they ought to look up to Heaven, and to the benignity of the legislators, for such an indulgence to them, as would confound the least merciful officer that ever prepared a grave for infants.

Every distressed person claims our commiseration; but if a child, parentless, friendless, or in the last resort for support, finds only a cold and comfortless reception, preparatory to an early grave, the whole man is called forth to succor the *afflicted innocent*: and that which would rouse the most inert and thoughtless mind, in a familiar case with respect to adults, ought equally to affect those who have any feeling, with regard to the *lives* of infants.

Let then the *Orphan Hospital* be, an *asylum in the last resort*: agreeable to the true principle of its original foundation, I call the *Foundling Hospital* by this name.

Let it have powers to do that which it has never yet been directed, or enabled, to perform, tho' it has given such ample proof of its ability to preserve life agreeable to the facts related in the following sheets.

Thus we shall discover the means of defending our choicest riches, that neither as a free, a commercial, or military people, or as a nation professing the *law of Christ*, we may act a part inconsistent, in any one of these views, with respect to the objects in question. We want *integrity*, but we have a vast fund of *good sense*, *good humor* and *compassion*: and may Heaven grant us *mercy*, in proportion as we lend succor and assistance to the distressed, and endeavor to promote the cause of humanity and public love.

I am,

your very sincere and

affectionate servant,

Dec. 1766.

J. HANWAY.

P R E F A C E.

I Have at different times written several tracts upon the subject of the infant poor, but in none have gone so deep into the general argument and state of facts as in the following sheets. I have here considered not only the bad condition of the infant parish poor of these cities, and the causes of it, but also the well-known ability of the Hospital, commonly called the Foundling Hospital, to afford them relief, in a manner the most unexceptionable: and I have accordingly given a candid, *not partial* account of this Hospital.

I have likewise considered the general state of the mortality here, since the origin of registers, and the apparent causes of the great diminution by more deaths than births.

Although the customs of great cities militate against population; if the common people were under better discipline and regulations, they would *encrease*, as well as enjoy greater plenty.

I have also considered the *decrease* of marriage, particularly among the higher and middle classes; and the *encrease* of expensive living, which operates so apparently against it. The laboring part of our fellow subjects will be intimidated from marriage, in proportion as the price of the necessaries of life *encrease*, or con-

tinue

tinue high. And in proportion as examples of dissoluteness, and the neglect of the education of the laboring part of the people prevails, their children will be trained up in ferocity, and fear nothing but the gallows. If they are not properly acquainted with the precepts of their religion, to regulate and control any mistaken notions of liberty which they may entertain, and habituate their minds to obedience, what can be expected but anarchy and confusion?

But however incredible it may be, to those who live out of the reach of the cries of human misery, the mortality of the infant parish poor is of all others the most amazing consideration. The preservation of such poor is as practicable as the breeding up any other human Being from the birth to manhood. But from ignorance of their value, and a habit of insensibility, the evil has long travelled on in this dreary road of destruction.

The *malady* encreasing with the ripening stages of corruption, such infants have been left, for time immemorial, to *perish*. This hath been so opposite to our national character and humanity, that we may flatter ourselves, the golden age will be again restored to these infants, rather than despair of preserving them, whilst we are assured that they are under the same providence as the rest of mankind.

It was in this view I interested myself, and made observations on the *registers* of these poor,

as

as appointed by an act of the sessions of 1761, in a quarto pamphlet, entitled, *An Earnest Appeal for Mercy, &c.* published last spring. This brought on a kind of defence from the advocates of one parish, for it happens to be but one; which providentially led me into a more open field, inasmuch that a considerable part of these letters have appeared in a public paper.

News-paper reading is the most familiar to communicate the ideas of things; but being only for the *day*, something more permanent is necessary on all subjects of moment.—I should have left my labor imperfect, and not done justice to my subject, if I had not collected my letters into a book. I had indeed no thought of making it into *two* volumes, but that the object chiefly comprised in the *first*, is brought before the parliament some time before I could begin to print the *second*. By this method it becomes the more portable, which may render it the more acceptable. The volumes being small, may at any time be bound together.

I have made a new arrangement, digested some of the letters, abridged others, and corrected the whole, with such additions as appeared to be wanting to render it as complete as my leisure, health and ability could possibly permit.—I have entered into the consideration of this interesting subject not only as to the methods of preserving the lives of children, but also by what familiar means attention may be shewn to their education.

The subject and the times naturally led me to reason on marriage, population, the food and expence of the laboring part of our fellow subjects, and the causes which seem to operate against us ; supporting the whole by real numbers, or deductions made from realities, the analogy of which correspond very nearly.

Whatever flattering hopes may be entertained of the parishes doing ample justice to the children in question, it is hardly possible in the nature of things that parochial officers, who by their constitution are changed annually, can cherish any parental regard for the infant children of the public, or act the part of fathers, with any degree of zeal. And as to the *mothers* of these children, when living, they are not as in the country ; they are often profligate, or lost in a multitude, so that the officers, be they ever so well inclined, are under great disadvantages. If they neither hope to *gain*, nor fear to *lose* any reputation, and at the same time labor under real difficulties, their circumstances, upon the whole, are totally different from those of the Governors of the Hospital. And therefore whatever alternative may be left to the parishes, the common sense of the case is to leave others to do whatever they cannot perform so well themselves. If those who know it from experience, and are conscious that they cannot preserve their infant poor, will notwithstanding oppose their being taken care of by any other, and *succeed* ;—all I can say is, they will answer for it

it somewhere; in the mean while so many the more infants will escape early out of an inhospitable world, which gives them such *wretched miserable quarters*.

As to the good intentions of parish officers, in behalf of their poor fellow-citizens, there will be no want of occasions for the full exercise of their humanity and patriotism by the various objects committed to their care.

1. Infants above the stipulated number, proposed to be sent to the Hospital, on a general or particular agreement, for the whole number or a part only.
2. Poor women who come to them to lie-in.
3. Women with children at their breast.
4. Children of every denomination, exclusive of the number per ann. proposed; and also such as may exceed the age limited.
5. Wretchedness and penury in adults of many kinds and degrees. ~~These~~ These and other such are the objects of parish rates.

Upon what principle then can the officers, who see their own accounts, be repugnant to lighten their own burthen, doing honor to themselves, and service to the public? This is a consideration above my reach. They have a vast field *behind* them to contemplate the graves of armies of infants; and *before* them, to promote the means of the opulency and defence, the stability and existence of their country; or to check the progress of all these; and perhaps by suffering the *child* to die,

lay a foundation for prosecutions for murders. Things cannot go on as they have done.

The placing the children of the poor in a situation the most promising to preserve life, is an object of such moment that nothing ought to interfere with it; and in what way it may be effected, is incontestibly clear. That there is *but one resource*, I do not undertake to determine; but whatever is accomplished, upon the system of parochial laws, seems to promise fairer to establish a precedent over the kingdom, where-ever it may be wanted, and to diffuse the good proposed, than any means not agreeable to the lenity of our government. That which quadrates best with the idea of *general police*, though it be a remedy for a local distemper, may prove the most salutary measure.

It is much to be wished that the indigent who are supported by the public, at an advanced age, as well as infants, were sent out of London. As the young will be more healthy, the old will have fewer opportunities, and fewer temptations to vice. They may be fed cheaper; whilst some of them do useful offices, not being too laborious. Many are too far advanced to be capable of any further labor; but others, it is a shame to see *idle*. As these cities are so overgrown, the country is the best place for the *poor*, not to be obliged to bring provisions for them from great distances; and by congregating them properly, suitable labor might be more easily found, and the oeconomy of houses of industry well preserved and more agreeably conducted.

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As to the aged who are past labor, however cheap the generality of mankind may hold the future happiness of a Being like themselves, those who think and feel like men and christians, will consider a *poor* old man or woman, who has worked and been useful, the same as a *rich* one, who has only consumed the produce of labor, and in such an instance treat them with a suitable respect. It is as much our duty to provide the means of their spending the evening of life in a decent religious manner, as to furnish them subsistence whilst they live. If our conduct is *not* regulated by a steady and invariable principle of virtue, I fear we shall fail in the issue; and if *it is*, we give a shocking proof of our short-sightedness in every act of negligence of this kind.

Every nation does honor to itself, in proportion as it adds a dignity to human nature. And if there is a God, it must be for such causes that he holds back his vengeance for that flood of iniquity which we have let in upon ourselves. As he has appointed us the instruments of his providence and mercy to each other, so he hath assured us that he will behold with an eye of mercy and complacency all his intelligent and accountable creatures who do their duty to each other, as the only proof they can give of doing it to him *agreeable to his commands*.

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Defence of a Parish in regard to its Infant Poor.

From PHILIP PAUPERIS.

LETTER I.

I Have read your *Earnest Appeal*. That there are good and bad of all sorts, must be confessed; but many persons of the parish in question, who have served offices, are men of property, and of great candor and humanity, and would scorn, as much as Mr. Hanway, to be wilfully guilty of such abuses to poor infants.

I am very credibly informed, that St. Clements parish had many children dropped in it within the time you mention; the truth of which the printer of the *Daily Advertiser* can affirm, as they were all advertised in that paper. I have made some enquiry concerning this matter, and find it very true; and shall beg leave to mention two or three instances relative to these foundlings, which I was informed of by some persons of reputation, on my said enquiry. One child was dropped (or at least found) at eleven o'clock at night, at the top of Strand-lane. Humanity taught the officer to send it to a parish nurse to be taken immediate care of; but the venereal disease was so rooted in the blood and bones of the child, and it was so shockingly scabbed from head to foot, that it lived but a few days.

Another child was dropped in so artful a manner, that it was not discovered till the next day at noon by its cries; this was also sent to the nurse to be taken care of.

A third also was soon after dropped, and died, after being under the care of the nurse a short time.

All these children were advertised by the parish officers, and, by good luck, on the information of a woman, for the sake of the reward, the mother of the last mentioned child was apprehended; but, by the lenity of the worthy Magistrate before whom she was taken, no punishment was inflicted, on promise of never offending again.

It is in these cases the children so frequently die, by the mothers baseness, in withholding from them the breast, and acting such a brutal inhuman part by them, as to drop them in the street: it is almost next to an impossibility, when a tender infant is separated from its mother, sewed up in a basket, dropt, and exposed so much to the weather, without any kind of nurture, for it to live; and it is also impossible for a parish nurse to bring up children in so tender a manner as their mothers can, because the breast is their chief sustenance; and when that's kept from them, disorders and illnesses of different kinds immediately attack them.

If the infamous women who dropt their babes, and who deserve not the tender name of mother, were to have an adequate punishment inflicted on them for such offences, it might be a means of preserving, in a great measure, the lives of many infants, who fall a sacrifice to their parents barbarity, and a means also of keeping the workhouses more clear of them.

The poor laws want much amendment throughout the whole kingdom. Some parishes indeed have acts of
parliament

parliament peculiar to themselves, among whom is the parish of St. Clement Danes ; but the ill use, or in other words no use to signify, that has been made of it, gives great umbrage to several responsible inhabitants, who have declared, if a workhouse was built (which by the act they have a power to do) there might be a saving on account of the poor, from 500l. to 1000l. a year : but I do not know how it is, the act cost near 300l. and it has lain almost dormant ever since, entirely so as to the executive parts concerning the poor.

I shall conclude with saying, that in the parish of St. Clement Danes, things are amiss, which might be much amended for the good of the inhabitants, if they would with spirit enforce the execution of the act of parliament, more especially if the principal ones would take the lead to accomplish so salutary a work.

P. P.

Farther Defence of a Parish in regard to its Infant Poor.

From PHILLO PAUPERIS.

LETTER II.

WHEN affairs of any import are made known to the public by means of the press, whether they make their way through the channel of a public news-paper, or by way of a pamphlet, is a matter of indifference ; certain it is that such publications lie open to every one for the perusal and free discussion of the matter therein contained ; and, as I have taken the free-

dom to remark cursorily on your pamphlet, it may not be improper to assign some reason for my so doing.

I reflected within myself—surely no parish officer could be so totally lost to the dictates and feelings of humanity as to be the cause of those poor infants deaths in so vast a degree as they are charged with ; such an instance of cruelty and barbarity, if a fact, deserves not only the severest censure, but demands a punishment equal to the offence. As a man and as a Christian, I was shocked to find such a number of lives lost to the community, as in the *Earnest Appeal* are set forth.

Upon search, I find by the register of St. Clement Danes for 1765, there appears to be nine foundlings, or dropped children, (which is more, I believe, than fell to the share of many other parishes within that year ; some of which, when found, were afflicted with different disorders ; whilst others, through *ill usage from their brutish parents, had scarcely, to appearance, any visible signs of life remaining, all which died under the age of four months ; and six casuals, under the Age of eight months.* I am convinced there are many parishes full as bad as St. Clements, but must be excused descending to particulars ; every parish must stand on its own bottom, and answer for its own faults and defects.

The officers of St. Clement Danes, have strictly followed the directions in the act of parliament, in signing and returning their register to the company of parish clerks. If they have done amiss in this affair, I cannot see who they are accountable to for their remissness but to the legislative power of this kingdom ;
who

we should amend our ways first, in an instance that seems to be within our reach, and under the very nose of 650,000 people, before we attempt to launch into the wide ocean of a general correction.

You believe me to be prejudiced against men because I do not know them, and I think you prejudiced for them because you do. You acknowledge things are very bad; so that allowing for human imperfection on all sides, we shall meet half way, even with the very men who were in office, of whom I dare say the major part, upon examination, see things in the same light.

I have given more ample, clear and minute evidence than ever was given before on this subject, Heaven grant it may have a general good effect either immediately, by means of the humanity of individuals, or from an effort of Legislative Authority, which may be obtained.

There seems to be one means necessary, which is to elect the chief people in every parish to parish officers; and those who will not serve, to mulct them at least 60l. instead of 8l. or 10l. as now practised.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Further Reply to the Defence..

L E T T E R . II.

IF it is very apparent that there hath been so heavy a Loss of Lives as I have described, it is a great injury to the publick in a direct view: It hath afforded a most pernicious example to the common people in general

woman; but it is also as true, that in the want of it, proper air and aliment will preserve children in a considerable proportion. I know one family where six females have been bred up by *one nurse*, by hand, and the youngest is seven years old; not a child died in her hands. If they had been sent to the common run of wet nurses, it is more than probable two in five had died.—So much difference is there between a good dry nurse and a bad dry one.

But permit me to ask, would not any man in his senses conclude, after the death of three or four children in one woman's hands, that the nurse was very unfortunate; and after five or six, that she was very ignorant or very wicked? But when in so short a period, the mortality of seven or eight had happened, would it not create a suspicion that she starved them, or gave them *sleeping potions*? And would not the same common sense and candor lead one to think, that upon seeing the *Eighteenth* child brought within this parish nurse's den, that those who sent them preferred that they should die? And what is preferring that a child should die, but something too shocking to mention or to think of? But it has been and continues, in many parishes, to be so common a practice, that this violence on humanity has lost its name, and is become as familiar in these renowned cities, as the use of the bow-string in Morocco for those who offend their Emperor.

I agree that our Poor's laws in general want correction, but not so much as those who undertake to execute them; and I believe you will join with me, that

we should amend our ways first, in an instance that seems to be within our reach, and under the very nose of 650,000 people, before we attempt to launch into the wide ocean of a general correction.

You believe me to be prejudiced against men because I do not know them, and I think you prejudiced for them because you do. You acknowledge things are very bad; so that allowing for human imperfection on all sides, we shall meet half way, even with the very men who were in office, of whom I dare say the major part, *upon examination*, see things in the same light.

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L E T T E R II.

IF it is very apparent that there hath been so heavy a Loss of Lives as I have described, it is a great injury to the publick in a direct view: It hath afforded a most pernicious example to the common people in general

So far from trespassing against any law, I act under the sanction of one, provided expressly for the purpose; and, I am sure if individuals do not co-operate with the spirit, sense, and meaning of government in this free country, many of our laws will become a dead letter, or must be enforced by means equally tending to the subversion of liberty. The last resort in every community is to the virtue of individuals, and the fear of something beyond temporal punishments; but more particularly in countries yet unenslaved by a tyrannical exercise of power.

As zealous as you are for the defence of liberty and laws, do you really think that the officers of St. Clements Danes have paid due honor to the law in question? They have, indeed, "followed the directions in the act of parliament in signing and returning the register to the company of parish clerks;" but this is but a small part of the law: The preamble sets forth the design of it, and the heads of the columns in the schedule annexed to it, are so many instructions of what is meant.

Were I to set a child afloat on a plank, I might not offend against any law of the land: but if the child happened to be drowned; it is more than probable my neck would be stretched for playing the fool.

To stick closely to the point, I ask, "Have the officers in question given a single penny to any nurse, after a certain time of trial, as a bounty or premium for keeping a child alive, to prove that they meant to keep it alive if they could? Have they sent a single child into the country to be nursed? Their neighbour St. Mar-

tin's in the fields (formerly under the same circumstances of neglect as other parishes) have sent several children into the country to be nursed, not as I apprehended when I wrote my pamphlet, at three shillings a week, cloathing included, but *exclusive* of cloathing. The officers of that parish, with great judgment and humanity, have sent them as far as Teddington; and what is the consequence of this new arrangement? Four in five of the children so sent were actually alive at the end of the last year 1765.

Your officers have paid but two shillings a week for nursing an infant. This is two shillings more than most others have paid; but is two shillings sufficient? Hath experience taught them that the town is a safe and proper place for nursing such children, especially in such holes as the nurse generally lives in? Is it in nature for women to breed like cats or rabbits? They have usually one child at a birth, at the distance of at least ten months. Can they nurse a dozen at a time? Do not your officers know that a number of infants being congregated will poison each other? Are they not informed that gripes and fluxes, and other such disorders, which in a very few days cut the tender strings of infant life, are contracted by the very air they breathe, as well as by the diet made use of? These and such like are the points in question. All the rest is fruitless altercation, unworthy of a man of sense, as I am persuaded you are.

I am, your's, &c.

J. H.

Anecdotes relating to Infant Parish Poor.

L E T T E R III.

YOU suppose it “impossible that my suggestion of giving children sleeping potions can take place, because the preserving children is the only means of the nurse’s livelihood.” The general principle on which you form your judgment, is right ; but this is an uncommon event. I could unfold many a tale contrary to your opinion, but they are too shocking, and offensive to humanity, to be related.

With regard to the conduct of some parish officers, in trusting children, by choice, in bad hands ; do you remember the anecdote related in my tract ? I presume you will trust me for the truth of it, otherwise I will produce the most respectable evidence. The officer alluded to, it seems is a ~~shrewd~~, sensible man ; but by the mere force of custom, and the habit of burying children, becoming as calous as a flint, upon being solicited on the behalf of a young woman to allow her two shillings and six-pence a week, for some time, in order to support her child, it being alledged that this is the common price of a parish nurse, he answered : “ Yes, that is very true, but then after a month or six weeks we hear no more of the child, whereas your young woman will probably preserve hers.”

Hath it not been also declared in open Court at Guild-Hall, by the master of a work-house of a very considerable

siderable parish, that not a single child was reared in his parish in fourteen years ? And was not the reason given, *without reserve*, that the parish had no proper place to keep them in, the air being too confined ?

Thus you see what principle was adopted in this instance, and has been adopted in thousands of others, and this will serve to explain to you what may be otherwise inexplicable.

Is it not natural to think that if a hackney nurse gets into a train of burying children, and she is supplied with fresh food for worms week after week, she will think it is very fit and *convenient* that a child should die ? The indulgence in the practice is in effect giving the strongest token of applause.

Upon the whole, *I need not tell you that* it is much easier to the officer, and less expensive to the parish, to *let a child die*, than to keep it alive. If the contrary were true, I do most seriously believe, that two if not three in five of these children would be reared and put out apprentice.

Let me also remind you that Law-makers are not possessed of any intuitive knowledge ; it is the custom to offer them *cases*. There not being any provision made to render it any one's duty to see to the execution of the law in question, I take upon myself to do all I can in behalf of the poor, which is to give notice of what falls within my knowledge, and observation.

I am, your's, &c.

J. H.

Further

Further Reply, with Reflexions on the Importance of the Poor.

LETTER IV.

I Observe you lay a great stress on the dying situation of the foundlings taken in by your parish. Of these there are indeed nine in thirty-one, which is 29 per cent. ; whereas in the general account there are but 115 in 1795, or about 6 and a half per cent. How this comes to pass I know not, nor is it very material : We must not amuse ourselves with names and words ; an infant or child is a human being, and as such entitled to all the offices of humanity, no matter how it came into the world, or who is the father or mother.

I also grant that some of these foundlings were in a bad state of health : But, when children are dropped, do you believe it is meant they should die ? Do you find any marks of violence on them ? Do you know that nature is so kind to infants that they are sometimes found alive in the arms of the mother when she is expired with cold.

If a woman exposes her child to get rid of it, must we understand that she meant it should die ? Murder is never committed for murder's sake. But, dropping the reasoning part, let us examine the fact as closely as you please. The fact is, that of eight foundlings dead in your parish, only one died the day taken in ; two lived seven, one thirteen, one thirty, two thirty-five, and one forty-eight days : upon a medium twenty-two days. And how long lived the nine *illegitimate* children taken
in

in by your parish, whom I rationally supposed to be born of young and healthy people ? Three lived thirteen days, one fifteen, one nineteen, one twenty-two, one twenty-eight, one forty-seven, and one eighty-eight days ; on a medium, twenty-eight days. This is six days longer than the poor *foundlings* : but excluding the *long-lived* child of eighty-eight days, the medium is *one* day less than the foundlings. Your three casuals lived, on a medium, one hundred and seven days — and then dyed.

It is natural to ask, if any *one* of these twenty children was suckled : If any one was sent to nurse into the country : Or if you changed the nurse in August, after seeing nine children already dead in her hands ?

You delivered five children to their mothers, and one to the father ; probably these six children, or the greatest part of them, are living. But what are we to expect of the remaining five children alive, which made thirty one in March last, if followed on into this year ? It appears that you allowed the mothers of these, two shillings a week, to assist them in taking care of their own children. The act excludes the insertion of such occurrences in the register, that it may not appear as a saving of children by the parish officer, when, in fact, they are preserved in the hands of the mother ; but still the measure is good, and does honor to your parish, as it does to all other parishes, who practice this mode of assisting mothers, when these are sober women, fit to nurse their own children.

As

As this mode leads directly to the knowledge of the comparative effects of the *parish nursing* and the *mothers nursing*, it may be a proper clause in any act, on behalf of these infants, which may hereafter take place, that it shall be inserted, at the foot of the registers; as a distinct article. I must say that the only circumstance which does honor to your parish, so far as the register discovers, is the giving this money to mothers as nurses.

Numerous and great are the calamities which happen to all the children of men, from various causes; but the most part of them have their source in our own folly and iniquity. The spring of health to the state, the ability of defence, the fountain of comfort, convenience and opulence, and a redundancy of the ornaments of life, all, confessedly, arise from the labor of the Poor; therefore the preservation of the Poor is the first lesson in political arithmetic.

If the children who fall unavoidably into the hands of parish officers, and, consequently, under the protection of the public, here at the very feet of the seat of government, are not deemed objects of national attention; if we shut our ears, being within the reach of their infant cries, and do not consult their preservation by all possible means, all our conquests which require inhabitants, all our schemes of population of countries, all acts of naturalization, and every duty of religion, with respect to charity to infant Poor, must, upon the comparison, appear vague and unmeaning.

Some parishes, you say, are as bad as yours: I grant it; nay considering the ages of the children much worse,
witness

witnefs the following, which I will give you as it already
stands on record in my *Eärneft Appeal*.

REGISTER of St. George's Middlefex.

Name of the Child.	Age.			When admit- ted into the Workhoufe.	By whom fent.	When dyed in the Workhoufe.	Days liv- ed.
	Y	M.	D.				
Thomas Bailey	2			2 Jan.	Overfeers.	9 Jan.	7
Mary Bill - -		2		4	Churchw.	17 Feb.	43
Elizabeth Bill -	1	11		4	Ditto	19 Feb.	45
Lucy Coleman -		5		24	Overfeers.	11 Mar.	47
Ifaac Darling -	2	3		5 Feb.	Churchw.	13 Mar.	38
Ann Bailey - -	2	9		16	Overfeers.	29 Feb.	13
James Gloves -	2	4		20	Ditto	14 Mar.	23
John St. George F	2			21	Ditto	28 Mar.	35
Sufanna Downes	2			4 Mar.	Ditto	15 Mar.	11
William Choep B		2		28	Ditto	14 Apr.	17
Mary Webb - -		8			Ditto		
Richard Yates		6		21 Nov.	Churchw.	Dead	
William Yates -	2			21	Ditto	14 Dec.	24
Sufanna Yates -		4		21	Ditto	21 Dec.	31
Jane Dryborough	3	9		22	Overfeers.	Dead	
Elizabeth Hathaway	2			15 Dec.	Ditto		
Benjamin Tomkins	2	3		19	Ditto	Dead	
William Carns -	3	4		19	Ditto	Dead	
Peter Flidgard -	2			20	Churchw.		

Thomas Beal, Churchwarden.

This is a true and exact copy of the register of this
parish in 1765, except the additional column of the days
the children lived, and the four marked *Dead*, who died
within two months after the year expired. If we con-
sider the ages of these children, past the dangerous time
of life, it is the more shocking picture of mortality ;
and the clofer we approach it, the more like slaughter
it appears.

I have also received exact information concerning the
fortune of the *remaining* three infants, and find that *Mary*

D

Webb's

Webb's mother has lain-in of another child in the work-house since December last, and is happily escaped out with her daughter *Mary*.

Elizabeth Hathaway is also taken out by her mother, and preserved from the grave.

Peter Flidgard is likewise taken out alive.

These three only have escaped with their lives, and so far we must give the parish credit, and no farther : the two last were but a *little while* in the workhouse.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

General Mode of Computation of Mortality.

L E T T E R V.

IT is necessary to premise that some calculators make their computations of the mortality of infants at one period, one at another ; one on burials in general, another on the burials of infants only ; but the difference is as 36 to 58 on 30 years. Mr. Webb computes on the burials in general ; as supposing 1000 born, how many will drop yearly ; but if 16000 are born, and 8000 die under 2 years of age, we may say that 50 per cent. are dead of those who were born ; yet if the burials in general are 24,000, then we may also call 8000, $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. under 2 years of age.

On a medium of 10 years last past, I find the burials on the christenings are 47 per cent. but I suppose one-sixth more births than appear in the bills, and consequently 16000 christenings, 18600 births.

As to burials, I must add to them also, tho' it be but half so many as some computations make it; viz. to 23500, 1500 dead, which makes 25000 or 32 per cent. if we allow 4 per cent. more for contingencies, it brings the matter to Mr. Webb's tables.

We are in search of Truth, if peradventure we can trace it out: I do not mean to exaggerate. Upon the above computation the diminution is but — 6400 whereas on the general Bills last year it appears to be — — — — 8000

The children of Dissenters are baptized by their respective teachers, and *not* registered; and they are buried by the minister of the parish, and *are* registered. But if children die before they are brought to church to be christened, and private baptisms are generally not registered, it will make the thing so much the nearer equal.

The bills do not comprehend the whole; but, upon a close examination of the burials in one considerable parish in Westminster, a few years since, the number of them, on a medium of ten years, was found to be 1074

And there were carried out to be buried every year, on a medium, — — — 261

Brought in to be buried — — — 124

Children at nurse (considered as in the parish, though dying out of it) deducted — 20

The remainder is — — — — 104

The difference which we ought to add to the account of burials, is — — — 157

Then, I say, if one parish, having 1074 burials, ought yet

yet to have an encrease of 157 burials, in the account of its mortality, what will be the encrease of burials on 147 parishes having, on a medium, (as in 1763, 1764, and 1665) 24,192 ? The answer is 3471.

Mr. Maitland, in his History of London, confirms this, in a great measure, when he tells us, that the burials in 1729 were found to be 3038 more than registered.

If we suppose the inhabitants, not of the established church, to be one sixth part of those who are, (and great numbers seem to class themselves under no church at all) the account will stand thus :

In 1765 the christenings	—	—	—	16374
Add one sixth for births more than registered				2729
				<hr/> 19403

Burials in 1765	—	—	—	23230
Add, upon a medium of the two				
computations of 3471 and 3038				
above-mentioned	—	—		3254
				<hr/> 26484

	Christenings and births.	Burials.	Diminu- tion.
Real account - 16374	—	23230	— 6856
Account with the additions - 19400	on	26484	— 7081

This is taking a favorable year, and happens to correspond, so that there is a difference of only 225

The christenings are encreased from the year 1763 to 1765 — — — — 1241

And the burials are decreased — — 2913
Yet,

Yet, upon a medium computation, the whole diminution appears to be full — — — — 8000

To ascertain the business with precision, the respective officers of their several congregations ought to make a faithful annual report to the company of Parish Clerks, of the number of births, &c. which are not permitted to be registered in our churches, of which more hereafter.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

General View of the Loss on the Children in Parishes within the Bills of Mortality in the Year 1765.

LETTER VI.

I Now hasten to comply with your request. The following is a general survey of the registers of 1765, of the parishes within the bills of mortality having any considerable number of children. The 97 within the walls having but few children are not inserted in this account :

<i>Those Parishes marked * have no Workhouse.</i>	Born and received.	Discharged.	Remaining.	Of whom under 12 months old.	Of whom Dead.	Dead per cent. under 12 months old.
13 Parishes without the Walls.						
St. Bartholomew the Great	3	—	3	—	—	—
St. Dunstan in the West	5	—	5	4	—	—
St. Saviour Southwark	48	2	36	17	8	48
St. Bride *	10	2	8	2	1	50
St. George Southwark	24	2	12	9	5	55
St. Botolph Aldersgate	11	—	11	5	3	60
St. Andrew Holborn	58	3	45	23	15	69
St. Giles Cripplegate	39	22	16	8	6	75
St. John Southwark	28	2	16	8	6	75
St. Sepulchre, Newgate	49	3	36	19	15	79
St. Botolph Aldgate	28	6	22	10	8	80
St. Botolph Bishopsgate	29	9	20	10	8	80
St. Botolph Aldgate, Midd.	20	5	15	10	9	90
St. Olave Southwark	25	12	13	4	4	100
Upon a medium 88 dead } on 129 received in 1 year. }	—	—	—	—	—	68

So that we see here more per cent. dead in one year, to say nothing of the several infants received in the last two months of the year, than in the *Hospital*, of children who are carried on to the ages between 6 and 11.

But upon examining the same parishes in regard to their children of 1 to 4 years old, the account stands thus :

	Remaining of 1 to 4 years old.	Dead.	Dead per cent. of 1 to 4 years.
St. Bartholomew the Great	—	—	—
St. Bride - - - -	6	—	—
St. Dunstan in the West	1	—	—
St. Botolph Aldersgate -	6	1	16
St. Olave Southwark -	9	2	22
St. Botolph Aldgate -	12	3	25
St. Botolph Bishopsgate -	10	3	30
St. Andrew Holborn -	22	8	35
St. John Southwark -	8	3	37
St. Botolph Aldgate, Midd.	5	2	40
St. Saviour Southwark -	19	10	52
St. Giles Cripplegate -	9	5	55
St. Sepulchre Newgate -	17	11	64
St. George Southwark -	3	2	66

We must consider these children of 2, 3 and 4 years old, being the 4th year of the register, upon a medium of 50 dead on 127, is per cent. — — — — — 40 near upon an equality of the deaths of the first year of life, on the common bills of mortality, which is 4 times as dangerous as the subsequent years of 1 to 4. Let us now view the other parishes.

Parishes in Midd. and Surry.

	Born and received.	Discharged.	Remaining.	Of whom under 12 months old.	Of whom dead.	Dead per cent. under 12 months old.
St. Paul Shadwell - -	21	9	12	3	3	—
St. Matthew Bethnal Green	16	—	16	—	—	—
St. Mary Whitechappel	19	1	18	6	—	—
St. Mary Newington -	10	—	10	7	1	14
St. Dunstan Stepney -	16	4	12	4	1	25
St. Leonard Shoreditch	65	7	58	22	6	27
St. Mary Islington - -	14	5	9	3	1	33
St. Ann Middlesex - -	12	1	11	5	2	40
St. John Wapping - -	35	8	27	7	3	43
Christ Church Middlesex	34	17	17	14	7	50
St. John Hackney - -	19	9	10	2	1	50
St. Katharine Tower -	4	2	2	2	1	50
St. Mary Rotherhithe -	20	—	20	9	5	55
St. Luke Middlesex - -	41	2	39	23	15	65
St. George Middlesex -	19	1	18	6	4	66
St. Mary Lambeth - -	39	11	28	9	6	66
St. Mary Magd. Bermond	24	8	16	6	4	66
St. Andrew above Bars and St. George the Martyr. }	141	17	124	90	64	71
St. George Bloomsbury, and St. Giles in the Fields. }	178	62	116	49	39	80
St. James and St. John Clerkenwell. }	78	33	45	14	11	80
Christ Church Southwark	16	5	11	1	1	100

Upon a medium of 175 dead on 282 received, is

per cent. — — — — — 62

or 6 per cent. less than the same aged children *without the walls of London.*

The same parishes considered as to their children of 1 to 4 years old stand thus :

	Remain under 4 years old	Dead.	Dead per cent.
St. Katherine Tower -	—	—	—
St. Mary Newington -	3	—	—
St. Ann Middlesex - -	6	—	—
St. Mary Whitechapel -	12	1	8
St. John Wapping - -	20	2	10
St. Mary Lambeth - -	19	2	10
St. Dunstan Stepney - -	8	1	12
St. John Hackney - -	8	1	12
St. Mary Islington - -	6	1	16
St. Paul Shadwell - -	9	2	22
St. Leonard Shoreditch -	36	8	22
St. Luke Middlesex - -	16	5	31
St. George Bloomsbury, } and St. Giles in the } Fields.	67	22	33
St. Mary Rotherhithe -	11	4	36
St. Matthew Bethnal Green	16	5	41
St. James and St. John } Clerkenwell }	31	14	46
Christ Church Southwark	10	5	50
St. Andrew above Bars, } and St. George the } Martyr.	34	20	60
Christ Church Middlesex	3	2	66
St. George Middlesex -	12	8	66
St. Mary Magd. Bermondf.	10	7	70

Here the medium of 110 dead on 337 is per

cent. near — — — — — 33

consequently 7 per cent. less than the parishes *without the walls of London*.

Many of these children, as I have observed, were of 3 and 4 years old, being of the 4th year of the register, and such should not drop off at above 6 or 7 per cent. We may also observe, that where the numbers are smallest, or where the children are the farthest removed from the
smoke

Smoke of these cities, there the mortality is least, proving in some degree the principle here laid down. One may also observe, that the parishes who have the smallest mortality of infants newly born, have likewise the fewest deaths of children of 1 to 4 years old.

<i>The 10 Parishes in Westminster are</i>		Born and received.	Discharged.	Remaining.	Of whom under 12 months old.	Of whom dead.	Dead per cent. under 12 months old.
Precinct of the Savoy	-	—	—	—	—	—	—
St. Paul Covent-Garden *	-	15	4	11	5	2	40
St. Mary Le Strand	-	3	1	2	1	1	50
St. Ann Westminster *	-	24	9	15	10	5	50
St. James Westminster	-	71	23	48	12	6	50
St. John Evangelist and } St. Margaret Westm. }	-	108	20	88	28	18	64
St. Martin in the Fields	-	101	37	64	30	20	66
St. George Hanover-square	-	142	32	110	63	44	70
St. Clement Danes *	-	31	6	25	19	17	90

The medium of this mortality being 113 dead

on 168, is per cent. near — — — — 67

and you may easily perceive, that the larger the number the greater the mortality, except in cases where a bad nurse is trusted with so many lives as your parish trusted, tho' your number is not much above one fourth so many as the medium of the three preceding principal parishes: yet for a very natural reason, your mortality is the greatest: but this event may have happened for the best.

I have now to examine the rates of the mortality of the foregoing parishes, of their children from 1 to 4 years of age, viz.

It is probable, by the few burials in 1646, the town was much deserted in the confusion of the times, or the register neglected, though the christenings keep an equal pace.

The next year, 1647, the mortality is four times as many, which might include part of the former year, the plague still carrying off near 3000 yearly.

In 1660 we find the plague almost ceased, but the diminution upon the christenings nearly equal with the former year, though this was the restoration year in which many people flocked to town.

The year 1665 was the dreadful plague, concerning which the bills of mortality seem to be partial ; for tho' it makes 68596 dead of the plague, it also makes 28708 dead of other distempers, when probably the same contagion carried off many of the latter number.

The dreadful fire came on the back of this year, which was not, in effect, a great evil ; for it controlled the plague, it fixed a period to this distemper, and gave proof how much health depends, under Providence, upon sweet air, clean houses, and untainted furniture and garments.

The next year, 1667, the christenings increased, but the diminution of the number of inhabitants by the burials is no less than 4869, nearly equal to those of 1641, which was 4854.

From 1668 to 1682, being 15 years, the number of christenings and burials do not vary much, and run upon a medium.

Christenings

Burials

12350

19638

Annual

Annual diminution — — 7285

Three, four, and five per annum are still set down as dying of the plague.

From this one might infer, that London and Westminster were three fourths as populous about the beginning of K. William's reign as they are now, though the loss or diminution was then much greater. From what causes this proceeded, so far as regards the infant poor, appears from what I shall relate of the efforts made by the justices of Middlesex in 1686, to remedy the abuse.

I suppose the bills were in those days as perfect as at present, and we find, under all circumstances, and in all these times, these cities carried off children in vast numbers beyond the due proportion; and that in proportion to the number of inhabitants, very few were born; so that the congregating such vast numbers, cuts against us like a two-edged sword.

In 1686 we find, that under the name of convulsions 3731, and consumptions 3569, were yearly swept off. The common name of *convulsion* passed current for children, who, to judge from what we now see, dyed for want of proper air and proper nourishment.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Registers of this Century continued.

L E T T E R XIII.

WE come now to examine what hath past in the *Life of Man* in our time: The account stands thus: —

Years

29 Sept. 1760, (the time that the 586 were living) all of them being under 12 months old when received. It is reasonable to presume, nothing was thought too bad to be sent to the Hospital at that time, were it only to save the expence of burial.

To form a true idea of the state of the *Infant Poor*, there should be no limited age for the registers, but they should be continued on till the child is dead—delivered to the mothers or friends—or apprenticed out.—And it should be clearly described, the name, trade, and place, so as to be found, of such mother, friend, or master. Such a plan only can afford a full satisfaction, and give a solid security to the public, that these children in the hands of parish officers, shall be treated as fellow creatures and fellow citizens.

If the parishes should freely, or under any restriction, send 800, or any number of children annually to the Hospital, it will be easy to compass such a register of the remaining children in their hands, till they are actually placed out.

In the column *discharged*, in the register now existing, it should be said *when* 'prenticed out; but there should be a particular and distinct register of the 'prentices kept in marginal columns.

Why this is not done so that it may be easily traced out what is become of these children, we must impute as much to the want of a *regulation* as to the general negligence which hath prevailed concerning them, from their birth till the time of their dissolution. And how we came thus to treat these poor infants

From 1720 to 1732, the diminution by death is 7, 8,
9, and even 10,000, but terminates in — — 5570

The christenings in no year exceed — — 19300

In 1726 we find the christenings and burials mount
highest. The bills being as correct at one time as an-
other, we must suppose these cities were then as fully
peopled as at any period.

Now that it is the custom for such crowds to flock to
these cities, perhaps they never were fuller than they are
in the winter months ; but still the bills of mortality at
this time do not equal the bills at that time, notwith-
standing the profusion of building.

From 1732 to 1740 the diminutions encrease to 15580.

For this a very natural cause is assigned, namely, the
use of Gin, which acted like a plague, and was indeed as
fatal to the offspring of the laboring part of our fellow
subjects, and to the common people of these cities.

Dr. Maddox, the good Bishop of Worcester, and Dr.
Hales, that true Christian Philosopher, have set this ca-
lamity in such a light as will never be forgotten.

From 1740 to 1743, the medium of the annual
diminution continues no less than — — 14165

From this time to 1750, it varies from 7 to 10000

In 1751 and 1752, it declines to — — 6897

From this account one might be led to think, that
from 1710, these cities contained as many inhabitants as
they do now, or that they were less healthy. The advan-
tage of country seats was less known to our fore-fathers ;
their streets were more confined ; their houses less commo-
dious ; and they devoted more hours to care and gain.

We

This renders the place inevitable death to infants ; and it is *confessed*, without reserve, to be a *rare thing* for a child to be taken *out alive*, except it be in the hands of the mother. We practice that towards Infants which any man of sentiment would deem cruelty to a dog or a cat.

In looking back into this workhouse account for the year 1764, I find 15 were received of these ages, *viz.*

Nine Months.	Eighteen Months.	Two Years.	Three Years.	Dyed,	Discharged to mothers.
8	1	4	2	10	3

Of the two remaining there is no account that I can trace out.

I am farther to remark on the curious register of 1765, that *Tomkins* and *Carns* dyed of the *small-pox*, said to be brought in by a poor woman and her child, Workhouses seldom refuse objects, let the disease be what it will, if they are sent by two justices of the Peace, one of them being of the Quorum. I presume it is *very right* it should be so, and that many must be taken care of under all circumstances, *i. e.* at the expence of the parish ; but it seems to be *very wrong*, and contrary to common sense, and the spirit and meaning of our Laws, that infectious distempers should be introduced into workhouses, where such numbers of all ages are congregated. On the contrary, every one becoming so diseased, should be removed from it in such manner as that the least mischief possible may be done.

As

As to poor *Dick Kates*, his brother *William*, and his sister *Susan*, these were the children of a *soldier*, who had probably stood the fury of powder, ball, and bayonet; but instead of preserving his sons, in order to supply his place, when *time* shall disable him, these poor boys died a miserable sacrifice to *inhumanity* and want of *police*.

This last circumstance reminds me, that several humane gentlemen in the army, of the first rank, have now under consideration a plan for preventing soldiers' children from falling a sacrifice to indigence or viciousness, or the rigors that the wives are frequently exposed to in their marches and change of place with their husbands.

The States of the United Provinces, who understand how to calculate the value of a life, allow so much to a soldier towards the support of every child, supposing his pay will only support himself, which is the case with us. And if we mean to promote population, this is evidently one means of doing it; and if we do not *refine* too much it will be done.

I observe in the historical abridgment of the establishment of the Foundling Hospital at Paris, published in 1753, the author, after complaining that the air the children breathe is confined, and forgetting to speak of the danger of congregating infants, contrary to the custom of our Foundling Hospital in London, concludes thus, "There is the greatest reason to expect, that if air and accommodation of lodging is provided, ac-

5. There is a schoolmaster who teaches all the boys to read, say their prayers and catechism ; *there are several other persons of several trades*, to teach the children several sorts of works, and bring them up therein.

6. There is a Porter, who looks to all the children at play, attends the door, and rings the bell to prayers, dinner, and supper.

7. There is a Matron, or Housekeeper, who takes care for provision to be brought into the house, and dressing thereof for the family.

8. There is an Assistant to the Master, who takes care of all the children's cloaths, and of the beds and sheets, that all be *mended* and kept in good order.

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10. There is a Semstress, who teacheth all the girls to work, and *make* all the linen in the house.

11. There is a Cook to dress all provisions according to the matron's orders.

12. There is a Laundress belonging to the house.

13. There is an *old nurse*, to take care of all sick and weak children : this nurse hath her *Assistants*, if need requires.

14. There are several women to look after the chambers, to wash and keep clean all the lodgings, make the beds, and do other necessary work there.

15. The books are constantly made up every *first Thursday* in every month, and all officers and tradesmen, and others, who are concerned in the house, are cleared off.

16. There

16. There is also a register-book kept, to register the names of all worthy persons who shall be benefactors to this good work ; and the same laid by for a time, to put the children out with it to trades, as they grow fit ; and the Justices of the Peace, once every year, at the Quarter Session, next after the feast of the Birth of our Lord, yearly, have constantly an account thereof."

I am yours, &c. J. H.

Remarks on the Efforts made in favor of the Infant Poor in 1686.

LETTER XV.

MY observations on the regulations mentioned in my last, are,

1. That there was no act of Parliament for a work which certainly required a law, and without which it could not be accomplished.

2. That the Justices set out with appointing a Governor ; whereas, in succeeding days, we have found it most advantageous to elect as many *Governors* as qualify themselves by giving a certain sum of money, especially where there is no fixt revenue.

The present mode where gentlemen work for nothing, is more upon a republican plan. This has contributed greatly to the establishment of such communities, from the consideration of the division of the power. Our natural genius, and love of limited monarchical power, is however apparent in this, that we generally find *one* person acquires an ascendancy : yet, if he is uncivil to

his colleagues, or seems to govern arbitrarily, in the issue he certainly loses his weight.

Whether our forefathers had any such conceits on this occasion, is not very material to enquire ; I mention it as a reason, among several others, why this charitable institution had a short existence.

3. The building was erected under the influence of the Justices, who seem to have retained the power of directing, but, at the same time, expecting to receive private contributions. Their authority of *ordering* children to be brought in to it was immediately disputed, so that the whole constitution was sapped before the form of it was established.

4. I suppose the Clergyman (Art. 2.) was to reside on the spot, the inferior officers being under his care. — If the Clergyman was to do so, and perform his duty well, the reputation of all Charity Houses would be so much the higher,

5. All the children were to learn to *write*, (Art. 4.) so that they were rather intended for city employments, on the plan of that antient, most useful and most respectable institution of Christ-Hospital, than for husbandry, and the drudgery of life.

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they are not at work. In the mean time, tight and whole garments, be they ever so much patched, generally attend cleanliness; and industry and sobriety are the companions of both; so, that the virtue of the body and the soul keep pace, and become united.

8. As to young persons having *old* nurses about them, (Art. 12.) experience is useful; but sweetness, cleanliness, health and activity are essentially necessary.

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THE *proposal* which the Justices made on this occasion, proves their good intentions, as well as the wretched situation of the infant poor at that time. It is as follows:

“ A Proposal for the better Education of Infants.

“ Although many good provisions have been heretofore made by the charity of well disposed persons, for the maintenance and education of youth: yet no convenience or education hath yet been thought on, or taken care of, for poor infants, who can least provide for themselves, or be provided for.

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“ For want whereof many great evils and inconveniencies are daily found, by the wilful and careless causing or suffering many infants to perish, or to suck in wicked and debauched principles, to the ruin, as it is to be feared, often of their souls as well as bodies.

“ Now, for the remedy thereof, a general Nursery or Infantery, is recommended by his Majesty's justices of the peace at the quarter sessions for *Middlesex* and *Westminster*, to the inhabitants therein, as by their orders at their several sessions may appear.

And for that purpose, the justices of the peace of the county of *Middlesex*, have already disposed of, and appropriated a great public building at Clerkenwell, (whose good examples, it is hoped, will soon be followed by others) and such orders and provisions are there already made, that infants shall be there received and provided for with all manner of necessaries, and be taught to read and write, and be bred up in true religion and virtue.

“ And it is supposed, that when persons are satisfied of the great conveniencies and advantages of this Infantery or Nursery, many charitable and religious persons will be liberal benefactors thereunto, whereby the charge of the maintenance and education of the poor may be at least eased, if not wholly taken off.

“ But the children first brought in, must *first* be provided for out of such charities.

“ Those who intend to give or leave any sum of money for the provision of any infant or infants, may, at the house, be very well satisfied of the fund of land
for

for the securing thereof; and for the putting out of such children, or providing for them when and in such way as shall be thought for their advantage, or according to such directions as the charitable benefactor shall direct.

“ For 50l. a child will be wholly provided for, bred up, put forth apprentice, and 10l. given him when out of his time, towards setting him up, besides the benefit of the house.

“ For 120l. a child will be wholly provided for, bred up, put forth to a very good trade, and have 100l. given him to set up withal, when out of his time.

“ And according to the sum or sums of money that shall be given or left for or towards such charity, the same being secured, as above, to their satisfaction, the product shall be accounted for yearly to the justice of the peace, in your Michaelmas quarter sessions, if no other person or persons be appointed by such benefactor to oversee and take such account.

“ The great conveniencies and advantages by this nursery, will be,

1. “ To the fatherless and motherless.
2. “ To the poor, the trouble and charge of breeding up such infants, taking them much off from earning their livelihoods.
3. “ To all such whose employment require, or cause their absence from their dwellings, as sea-faring men, users of fairs and markets.

“ 4. And

From March to December, 1593, the burials are
25,881

But we must deduct the dead by the Plague
of that year — — — — — 11,501
Died, exclusive of the Plague — — 14,381

So stands the account ; but it is probable that more died of the Plague, and fewer of other distempers, unless we grant there were then full half as many inhabitants as at this time.

It is now one hundred years since we were afflicted with a plague ; but, from 1593 to 1666, the bills of mortality give account of people's dying of this distemper, as if it were as common as fevers. You will see presently, that in 1603, this disease raged very grievously ; and that these cities were hardly ever free of it till the great fire in 1666. The houses, as we yet see, were built over-hanging, and the streets narrow and confined. Perhaps our intemperance, or the custom of eating much flesh, to which we are addicted ; our violence in labor or exercise ; the lands then undrained in the flats of Essex, or other secret causes, might contribute to produce a spotted fever. This always encreased with the plague, and again decreased with it, so that it seemed to be the same kind of disease ; and as purples only appeared in some who had the reputed plague, without buboes or carbuncles, and the common fever also encreased with it, this epidemical distemper, which it was so difficult totally to subdue, seemed to arise from the same cause.

Or, if we judge from the length of time which it prevailed, beyond what is usual in eastern countries,

we may ascribe it to our clothing; our want of lavations as in the Eastern parts; our very furniture, so much more apt to receive the contagion than theirs; and, in a word, to our manner of living, as well as to infection accidentally introduced.

Though we have not at present any such distemper, yet we see vast numbers swept off by other diseases which gain an ascendancy. In 1000 I find there die by the bills as follows :

Of Consumptions	— — — — —	170
Fevers	— — — — —	148
Small Pox	— — — — —	80
Convulsions	— — — — —	283

If a general inoculation of young and old, and as fast as infants are born, were to take place, it is probable not 8 in 1000 would die of the Small-Pox.

As to Convulsions, they relate chiefly to infants, of whom so many more die in these cities than the common proportion. This must be imputed to bad nursing, or bad air, to the laboring poor living in confined places; to filthiness, or to the debauchery of mothers among the common people.

Consumptions comprehend the effects of venereal complaints, as I see by those poor wretches who die in the *Magdalen House*, ten in eleven of those that die going off in this distemper. But consumptions sweep off some whom nature hath formed too delicately for their unequal manner of living. Improper cloathing, and putrified air, in public assemblies, as well as irregular rest, contribute to this disease. But it is an observation of the

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“ Now, for the remedy thereof, a general Nursery or Infantery, is recommended by his Majesty's justices of the peace at the quarter sessions for *Middlesex* and *Westminster*, to the inhabitants therein, as by their orders at their several sessions may appear.

And for that purpose, the justices of the peace of the county of *Middlesex*, have already disposed of, and appropriated a great public building at Clerkenwell, (whose good examples, it is hoped, will soon be followed by others) and such orders and provisions are there already made, that infants shall be there received and provided for with all manner of necessaries, and be taught to read and write, and be bred up in true religion and virtue.

“ And it is supposed, that when persons are satisfied of the great conveniencies and advantages of this Infantery or Nursery, many charitable and religious persons will be liberal benefactors thereunto, whereby the charge of the maintenance and education of the poor may be at least eased, if not wholly taken off.

“ But the children first brought in, must *first* be provided for out of such charities.

“ Those who intend to give or leave any sum of money for the provision of any infant or infants, may, at the house, be very well satisfied of the fund of land
for

for the securing thereof; and for the putting out of such children, or providing for them when and in such way as shall be thought for their advantage, or according to such directions as the charitable benefactor shall direct,

“ For 50l. a child will be wholly provided for, bred up, put forth apprentice, and 10l. given him when out of his time, towards setting him up, besides the benefit of the house.

“ For 120l. a child will be wholly provided for, bred up, put forth to a very good trade, and have 100l. given him to set up withal, when out of his time.

“ And according to the sum or sums of money that shall be given or left for or towards such charity, the same being secured, as above, to their satisfaction, the product shall be accounted for yearly to the justice of the peace, in your Michaelmas quarter sessions, if no other person or persons be appointed by such benefactor to oversee and take such account.

“ The great conveniencies and advantages by this nursery, will be,

1. “ To the fatherless and motherless.
2. “ To the poor, the trouble and charge of breeding up such infants, taking them much off from earning their livelihoods.
3. “ To all such whose employment require, or cause their absence from their dwellings, as sea-faring men, users of fairs and markets.

“ 4. And

4. “ And to all such as would not otherwise keep houses, unless it were for the looking after, and breeding up their children.

“ It is also believed this provision may prevent the great trouble and charge to all persons, by children left and laid in the several parishes.

“ Or that at least it may ease the parishes and their officers in providing for, and breeding up of their parish children.

“ And by this education, we may be assured there will be better subjects, better masters, and better apprentices and servants, for all persons that shall need them.

“ And as this good work takes, many other proposals shall be made for the taking off, and wholly providing for infants for small sums of money, which shall be secured by certain and sufficient funds.

“ The rates proposed for such maintenance and education are, *twenty shillings* entrance, which is for new cloaths and bedding.

“ And *three shillings* per week for meat, drink, cloaths, and all other things for the future.

“ The days to receive them are Thursdays, weekly, from nine till noon, at the Nursery or Infanterie at Clerkenwell, &c. But the place and accommodation being so much approved of by all that see it; and the confluence of people thither on those days being great; for the greater ease and dispatch to the business, it is desired that all persons approving of the undertaking will come and bring in their children on the Mondays

before, and leave the name and age of the child with the officer who is appointed to attend there on those days to that purpose.

“ Note, That you may take the child away at any time, when you have an opportunity of a better provision for it, and the new cloaths with it.”

In February 1686, we find as follows, A copy of the several orders of sessions, made at *Middlesex* and *Westminster*, for the better encouragement of the general Nursery or College of Infants, lately established at *Clerkenwell*: with a copy of a letter written from the justices to the ministers and church-wardens of the several parishes within the said city, after they had been to view the same, since it was put in practice this last quarter sessions.

“ Middl. ff. *Ad Generalem Sessionem Pacis Dom. Regis tent. pro Com. Midd. apud Hicks-hall in St. John-street in Com. praed. die Lunae scil. Nicesimo secundo die Februarii, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Secundi nunc Angliae, &c. secundo.*

“ The justices of peace for the county of *Middlesex*, having observed great inconveniencies from the loose way of breeding up of parish children, whereby very few of them come to good; for the remedying whereof, they have at their quarter sessions ordered a great part of the *Corporation Workhouse* at *Clerkenwell* for the reception; and the same is fitted up for that purpose, and excellent rules and methods are taken for their education in true religion and virtue; and the care thereof is committed to *Sir Thomas Rowe, Knt.* one of his Majesty's

jefty's justices of the peace for the same county. And that the benefits and advantages thereby may be seen and found, for the putting the same in practice (having considered the extent and condition of the several parishes) they do hereby order the churchwardens and overseers of the poor in the several parishes here undermentioned, on or before the 18th day of March next ensuing, to send the proportion of children hereafter specified, out of such parish children as they now have in their respective parishes :

St. Giles in the Fields, *five*.

St. Andrew, Holborn, *five*.

St. James, Westminster, *five*.

St. Margaret, Westminster, *five*.

St. Martin in the Fields, *six*.

St. Paul, Covent-Garden, *four*.

St. Mary le Savoy, *five*.

Rolls Liberty, *two*.

St. James, Clerkenwell, *five*.

St. Giles, Cripplegate, *five*.

St. Clement Danes, *five*.

Per Cur. *Smith.*"

Here seems to be more promised, than the nature of the case, in its infant state, could well perform. However, we must make great allowances for sanguine hopes in all new enterprizes.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Further

Further Efforts of the Justices in 1686 in favor of the Infant Poor.

LETTER XVII.

YOU will perceive, Sir, by my last, with what zeal the justices of Middlesex were fired, in 1686, for the preservation of infants, and the education of children. At the general quarter sessions of the peace held in *Westminster*, in April that year, the justices of that division confirmed what had been done in *Middlesex*. In July, the Middlesex justices being very highly pleased with this new erected institution, recommended to the several justices of the country divisions of the county, desiring them to communicate the conveniencies thereof to the church wardens and overseers of the poor of the several divisions; and that they should send two children at least, out of every parish, *without* the Bills of Mortality, and such further number as they might think convenient.

It is probable they found it difficult to reconcile the *parishes within* the Bills to the design. However, several of the churchwardens and overseers of the respective parishes sent in their quotas, with a very commendatory address to the bench of justices.

In June the next year, the grand jury viewed this *College of Infants*, and made a very honourable presentment; viz. that it was "one of the best and most charitable works that has for these many years been set on foot." All the parishes complied with the order, and, as the

account says, very much approved, “ but St. Clement Danes, whose proportion being but five children, on which the charge would have amounted to 2s. 6d. per. week more than they now pay, for that reason only, did absolutely refuse to obey the order of the quarter sessions.”

It is obvious that the order was not founded on law, the justices possessing no coercive power ; and whether your parish had higher sentiments of liberty than others ; or but a mean opinion of the justices scheme ; or cared more or less for their children than other parishes ; it is certain they did not comply with the order for sending in their quota of *five children*.

In consequence of this, there was an order of sessions to examine into the state of the parish infant poor belonging to your parish, viz,

Middl. ff. *Ad Generalem Sessionem Pacis Dom. Regis ten. pro Com. Midd. apud Hicks-hall in St. John-Street in Com. præd. die Lunae Scil. Sexto die Decembris, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Secundi nunc Angliæ, &c. secundo.*

“ Whereas the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the parish of St. Clement Danes, in this county, have been summoned to attend this court, this present sessions, to shew how many poor children of the said parish they have put out to be apprentices, at the charge of the said parish, for the space of seven years last past, and their names ; as also the names of the persons to whom they put them apprentices, and the places of their abode, and what money they gave with them, and what is now become of the said apprentices : And the said officers have attended this court ; but have
not

not given any satisfactory account to this court, in the premises, but desired time : It is therefore thought fit, and ordered by this court, that it be, and it is hereby recommended to Sir Thomas Rowe, Knight ; John Phelips, Esq; Thomas Done, Esq; Simon Parry, Esq; Richard Price, Esq; and Peter Lugg, Esq; his Majesty's justices of the peace of this county, or to any two or three of them, to cause the said church wardens, and overseers of the poor of the said parish, and such other persons as they think convenient to come before them, and examine the said officers and persons concerning the disposal of the said parish children for seven years last past, and what is now become of them. And the said justices are hereby further desired to make a report to this court in writing, under their hands, how they shall find the true state of the premises, and how they shall find the muster-roll of the parish children, in the said parish, at the general sessions of the peace, to be held for this county next after *Hillary* term, now next ensuing."

The Report.

" WHEREAS, by an order made at last *Christmas* quarter sessions, it was desired, and referred to Sir Thomas Rowe, Knt. John Phelips, Esq; and several other his Majesty's justices for the said county, to examine what children the parish of *St. Clement Danes* have had under their care for seven-years past, and how many of them have been put forth apprentices ; and what charge the parish hath been at with the said children, and how many of them now are in being.

We

We the said justices do report as followeth :

THAT we inspected the said books, and do find that in the year 1679 there were then, at the charge of the parish, 89 children, of which 16 were foundlings, all *Clements*. And we find that there hath been added to the charge of the parish 110 in the following six years, in all 199, of which 51 are *Clements*, children laid in the streets.

We find that of these, 55 hath been put forth to apprentice, and that there are now in being 32 of the said 55 only.

And we find that there now remains of children, at the charge of the parish, of which 13 are *Clements*, — — — — — 58

And the apprentices living, of which 3 are *Clements*, — — — — — 32
In all 90

We find that the officers have expended for nursing these children in seven years last past, — — — £.1943 9 0
And for binding forth apprentices, — 109 8 0
In all 2052 17 0

And we further find, that they have given away, on extraordinary charges at their pleasure, some of which are for the children, — — — 2708 16 5

All which we submit to this honourable court :

Thomas Rewe, Jo. Phelips, Peter Lucy, Simon Parry.

1. Note, that seven years ago the parish had
89 children, and there have been since added, 110
In all 199

Of these (apprentices counted in) there is left
but — — — — — 90

So that there are lost, and dead, in the said
seven years, or *never were*, though paid for in
their books, — — — — — 109

2. Note, that of 55 bound out apprentices in these
seven years last past, which cost the parish 109l. 8s.
there are only left 32.

And how many of the 32 will stay to serve out their
time, is to be enquired further of.

3. Note, that 51 of the 110 were Foundlings,
all Clements, laid in the parish, in six years last;
and so take the name of Clement from the
parish, — — — — — *51 }

Were then there, — — — — — *16 }

In all, — — — — — 67

Now only 3* are bound out apprentices, and 13*
are left of the number 16*; and the 51* all Clements,
are all lost and dead.

Now the parish books have been searched how many
were christened of these Foundlings or *Clements*, or
buried; and very few appear upon the register: It
is questionable if they *ever* were all there, though
paid for.

It is much that 51 should die out of 67 in seven
years. The particular money paid for nursing of these
children,

children, is 1943l. 9s. in seven years. Now judge if well disposed."——

I am, yours, J. H.

Remarks on the Efforts of the Justices in 1686.

LETTER XVIII.

UPON my last Letter I have to remark,

That according to the register of your parish of St. Clement Danes, in 1765, the Foundlings being 9 in 31 (your whole number) it is 29 per cent. of this particular class of infants. In the course of seven years from 1679, we find 67 Foundlings in 199 children received by your parish, which is 33 per cent. Of these 67, are found alive only 16, viz, 13 on hand, and 3 placed out, so that 76 per cent. were dead.

In 1679, the parish had 89 children, and 110 being added, in the subsequent seven years, and 90 remaining alive, the *saving* appears to be 45 per cent. but it is not explained how many were originally taken in as infants. Some part of these children must have exceeded three or four years of age, or there could not have been 55 bound out apprentices.

The most astonishing circumstance of this account is, that of 55 placed out apprentices, 32 only should be living after the course of seven years, so that 41 per cent. of grown children were dead; when, in the ordinary course of mortality, children of 6

to 11 years old, in seven years, should not have died above 21 per cent. even by our bills of mortality, and still less if they were older. It is to be hoped that in this respect we are much mended.

The sum of 1943l. 9s. being expended on nursing of 199 children for seven years, is about 28s. each per annum, or supposing the half part dead, 2l. 16s. It is true, part of 2708l. 16s. 5d. was expended on children, but, upon the whole it should seem that the allowance was very short of what it ought to have been, and that the children had very hard quarters. It is very observable that 3s. a week, or 7l. 16s. per annum, was deemed by the justices a reasonable medium price for cloaths, diet, lodging, and all necessaries.

The sum of 7l. 10s. is now allowed by the parliament for the Foundlings, and they cannot be properly supported for a less sum, particularly in the dangerous years of life. St. Martin in the Fields, (I cannot repeat it too often) pays 3s. a week, or 7l. 16s. per ann. clothing excluded, and this parish preserves its children so provided for.

Money has lost a great part of its value since 1686; but where shall we find a single parish within the Bills of Mortality at this day, which makes any computation of such a charge? Yet it is demonstrable from the ordinary value of labor, and the ordinary duration of life fit for labor, and the general analogy of our national expence, and the produce of our lands, and of our commerce, as you will see hereafter, that a life preserved for labor is really, what is not vulgarly con-

ceived, worth to the community, 291l. 9s. 0d. all charges paid.

Thus, if we consider this matter in the view of political arithmetic, as well as divine philosophy, there cannot be a grosser absurdity than to suffer the infant poor to die as the officers have done for ages past, to prevent the expence of preserving them alive. That the evil has arisen from this, more than from any other cause, is obvious; so that the question is, whether we shall continue the war with human nature, *in the persons of these infants*, and *destroy* our own fellow subjects, or make peace with them, and *preserve* them? In other words, whether in the height of our civilization, we shall act *in this instance* like a barbarous uncivilized nation, totally unlike ourselves, and contrary to our general national character?

By the small sum of 109l. 8s. it seems to appear that 50s. only was paid for each child as an apprentice fee; and this custom has been transmitted down, to the great reproach of the parishes. Accordingly we find, that of 55 children, 22 were either *dead* or *run away* from their masters; and it was doubted if the remainder would stay with them; so that, though we must carry something to the account of resentment on the part of the justices, if the fact is truly represented, very little care was taken to whom the children were placed out. This is a grievous complaint, I fear too justly founded, even to this day.

The remark which implies a suspicion of unfair dealings, with respect to the parish money, and the children

not

not being found registered as to christenings or burials, looks also like foul play; but it *might* be only a slovenly way of conducting business, which has been transmitted down in too many instances.

I believe we are much mended in this respect, as we are in distinguishing the names of Foundlings. It is common in the Brazils to christen a number of *Blacks* in a row, by sprinkling water and naming so many *Johns* and so many *Marys*: but white children in this civilized country, in one family, were surely never christened by *fifties* of the same name!

The death of 51 children in 67, in seven years, startled our ancestors, in the height of their complaint; but still this leaves 24 per cent. alive: how few parishes at this day can, in the same period of seven years, produce half the number!

The fallacy of *all* parish accounts, is in the succession of children; for if the identical ones are not followed from year to year, the last year still produces a number which may incline the humane world to believe a considerable proportion are preserved; tho' it is but a *common* event with many parishes to conduct every child to his grave.

We may easily conclude, that an institution of this kind could not subsist long on its original foundation, dependant on the humour of so mutable a body as the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the respective parishes, had no great event happened at that time to divert their attention. For it must be observed, that these were to pay 3s. a week for each child, without

any law to oblige them to it ; and they might pretend they could do it properly for 2s. They were also to give so much power out of their hands, which, it is probable, they would not chuse to do. This scheme might preserve many children, and occasion the continuance of an expence ; whereas, in the ordinary course, they might find an easy passage out of this bad world, and ease the parish.

Whatever the real case might be, I cannot learn, with precision, that any considerable progress was made in the design of this institution. It is evident, from the original conception, that it carried with it the seeds of a speedy dissolution.

I am, Sir, yours, J. H.

Further Relation of the Efforts made in 1686 in favor of Infants.

L E T T E R XIX.

IT is very apparent, that altho' the Justices of Middlesex and Westminster had much zeal, they were not vested with sufficient authority to accomplish the work they undertook.

The 15th of October, in the third year of James II. the Grand Jury, sworn for the body of the whole county of Middlesex, at their Michaelmas sessions, in high applause of the institution of the College of Infants, gave their public thanks to Sir *Thomas Rowe* for his great care in the prudent management of it. They alledged that the parishes will save 3l. 4l. or 5l. each child, which

they usually gave as an apprentice fee: St. Clement's, I have observed, did not then give above 50s.

They also encouraged the parishes to send as many children as the house could receive, adding, that these parishes cannot provide for them better, nor the public money raised for the use of the children be better employed. They subjoin to their general approval, the following particular reasons.

“ 1st. By breeding the parish children in this way, they will be taken as apprentices to very good trades, or as servants, for their education sake, and the parishes will save the money they now give with them, and the cloaths they usually provided.

2. That no accidental expence can be charged upon them by the officers of the parishes, either for sickness, cloaths, or any other accident; the 3s. per week being the whole charge in the College, and consequently the accidental book of the parish will be much lessened.

3. That no child can be paid for, that is *not*, nor any pay allowed longer than it is alive; and the officers of the parishes will, with much more ease and satisfaction, adjust their accounts, when they produce an acquittance from the house, for a voucher.

4. There will not be so many children *exposed* in the parish as now are, for it is believed that one half of the children left to the parish, in the streets, is more to save credit, and to avoid the trouble given by parish officers about security, than for want of 3s. per week to pay for them, had they a *conveniency* as in the college.

5. Here the widower may settle his children and go to the *Indies* for a soldier, or any place, where he pleaseth.

6. The widow may do the like.

7. The young man who by folly is extravagant, having placed his child here, may be free from the opportunity of further folly, by the woman's coming after him for maintenance, which many times is the occasion of more and greater evils.

8. The tradesman may leave off house-keeping, having here provided for his child, and may see it every day without trouble, or any further charge.

9. The dying man may be sure of a provision for his child, for leaving 50*l.* to the house, his child is to be taken care of and put forth apprentice, and to have 10*l.* out of the 50*l.* to set up withall; whatever he may leave more is to be accounted for every year to the Justices at every *Christmas* Sessions, if he by *will*, leave nobody else; and the interest made principal; and a good fund in land is now settled for the performance hereof; and at the house every one may be satisfied therein. A man may find many persons who will offer to see this done, to whose care, if the money and child were left, the money might be lost and spent, and the child come to the parish.

10. And for such as are not willing to engage any person for security, they may leave a caution of money in the house, and have the fund settled for security; the surpluse to be returned when they take away the child, the usual rate of the house being first paid, and no questions asked whose the child is, or whence it came."

You

You will observe some gross imputations or suspicions of mal-administration ; but these merit the less attention, from the consideration of a great partiality for this new favorite design. As to the improvement of the Poor's laws, extended to the children's growing to manhood and setting up in trade, it supposes the charity to be calculated for commerce in great towns, not mechanics, nor labor in the field. But if effectual guards could be provided for a pure and diligent administration of such a plan, I presume it might be beneficial, in some places.

Upon the whole, several of these hints have a great analogy with the *present times*, and may be of use in digesting salutary regulations for the distressed part of mankind, and to guard against the evil accidents of life : but in this case it is evident, that too much was attempted at once : and it is a silent lesson to us to avoid the same error on this occasion. If the saving of lives was their chief object, they outrun their own intentions. At the same time it must be granted, that the preserving life is not doing all the business. Many children are sent to parishes turned of *five* years old, and are entitled to great regard with respect to *education*.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Enquiry concerning the Remains of the Effort made in 1686 in favor of the Infant Poor.

L E T T E R XX.

NOthing which regards the cause of humanity is uninteresting to the human heart.

The desire of information led me to Clerkenwell, to
see

see if this Charity-house existed ; and I found it. It is a spacious building, and yet in a tenable condition, tho' hardly equal to so great an undertaking, as may be imagined from the small sum it cost. There are some vestiges of its having been used as a manufactory ; and Providence, still watchful over the ungrateful children of men, has reserved it for a good use. It is now in the hands of the *Friends* vulgarly called *Quakers*, and serves as their work-house or charity-house, which it has been ever since 1702. It is the property of the county, or rented of the Justices of Middlesex, and held of them.

There are now in it 56 boys and girls, who are taken in at 7, and usually continue till they are full 14 years of age. The boys make nets, and the girls knit stockings, and learn needle-work and domestic business. *Both sexes* are taught reading, writing, and *arithmetic*. Their religion and morality consist so much in peace, simplicity of manners, and a habit of ruling their passions, that young persons are qualified for the world very early ; the girls are not placed out as apprentices, but go into services from the school. The Committee gives them 5l. after a certain time, if they behave well.

In this house are also twenty aged persons ; others are in the country under the same charitable direction. This is the first charity-house I ever walked through, wherein neither my eye nor my nose were offended, except by the want of some small repairs, and that the beds appeared too small for two young persons.

One of the rules is, that no one shall smoke tobacco in their lodging rooms.

Another

Another rule is that no spirituous liquor shall be used but as the Steward may direct.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

A View of our present Situation in regard to Infants, compared with 1686.

L E T T E R XXI.

OUR present object, like that of the Justices of 1686, is the preservation of infants from an early grave. The Act of the 43d Eliz. is the grand bulwark of the parish officer. Under the cover of it the greatest good, or the greatest evil, lie equally open to him. The King, Lords and Commons do not pass bills for the taxation of the people in the exigencies of the state, with a more indisputable authority than he does for the support of the parish poor; at least if he makes appear, that so much money is necessary, it must be levied.

The Act by virtue of which this was done remaining in full force, these Magistrates had no subsequent authority whereby they could compel the officers to submit to their decisions, though they seem to have *persuaded* them into it. As to the mode of preserving the Poor, this being left to the officers without controll, it often happens that measures are changed inconsiderately, and as quickly, as the men who are to execute the alteration. And it is well known that these will sometimes make a change out of mere contempt of their predecessors, or to show that they have the power. In the mean time the poor child is bandied about, and loses his life.

L

You

You must be sensible, Sir, how often this is the case. It is true some of the parishes in question (of which your's is one) acting upon the same salutary principle, as the Justices abovementioned, have within these thirty years past obtained fresh Acts of Parliament for their particular use. How far the end has been answered in yours, under the conduct of succeeding officers, you have particularly informed us. In general the matter in question will best appear by the registers of the infant poor.

If we consider that in this happy land, in all private cases of property, to which no statute nor common law extends, we have recourse to the supreme legislature; how much more ought we to apply for redress where life is concerned. The object now before us is no less than the preservation of thousands, who are under the immediate protection of the guardians of the people; and if life be in danger, whether in young or old, from any tyrannical or inhuman custom in parishes, or the want of the natural means of preservation, in every circumstance we may hope for relief.

How it happens that no application has been made, nor any effectual redress given in such a length of time, is not very hard to conceive. The same causes which first produced the effect, have naturally operated for the continuance of it. That it has been a custom to suffer these young citizens to die, as if it were a right measure, is indubitable. That it hath prevailed for a series of years is no less certain: but it doth not follow that it ought to last for ever.

to 11 years old, in seven years, should not have died above 21 per cent. even by our bills of mortality, and still less if they were older. It is to be hoped that in this respect we are much mended.

The sum of 1943l. 9s. being expended on nursing of 199 children for seven years, is about 28s. each per annum, or supposing the half part dead, 2l. 16s. It is true, part of 2708l. 16s. 5d. was expended on children, but, upon the whole it should seem that the allowance was very short of what it ought to have been, and that the children had very hard quarters. It is very observable that 3s. a week, or 7l. 16s. per annum, was deemed by the justices a reasonable medium price for cloaths, diet, lodging, and all necessaries.

The sum of 7l. 10s. is now allowed by the parliament for the Foundlings, and they cannot be properly supported for a less sum, particularly in the dangerous years of life. St. Martin in the Fields, (I cannot repeat it too often) pays 3s. a week, or 7l. 16s. per ann. clothing excluded, and this parish preserves its children so provided for.

Money has lost a great part of its value since 1686; but where shall we find a single parish within the Bills of Mortality at this day, which makes any computation of such a charge? Yet it is demonstrable from the ordinary value of labor, and the ordinary duration of life fit for labor, and the general analogy of our national expence, and the produce of our lands, and of our commerce, as you will see hereafter, that a life preserved for labor is really, what is not vulgarly con-

we were thus deterred from the prosecution of it ; but some benefactions were made by will, as an encouragement to the attempt, and in case any such hospital should be established.

The great business of untimely death going on its miserable course, in 1739 a well-meaning old man, Mr. *Coram*, formerly a master of a ship in the merchants service, solicited for a charter for a Foundling Hospital. It was supposed that female compassion would operate the strongest, and accordingly we find the following list of Ladies of the prime nobility subscribed to the request, viz.

Charlotte Somerset,	M. Harold,
S. Richmond,	F. W. and Nottingham,
H. Bolton,	E. Cardigan,
Ann Balton,	Dorothy Burlington,
J. Leeds,	F. Litchfield,
A. Bedford,	A. Albemarle,
M. Cavendish Portland,	F. Biron,
J. Manchester,	A. Trevor,
F. Hertford.	E. Onslow,
S. Huntington,	A. King.

The Memorial of these noble and generous-spirited Ladies sets forth, " That to prevent the murders of poor miserable infants at their birth, or for suppressing the inhuman custom of exposing new born infants to perish in the streets, or the putting out such unhappy foundlings to wicked and barbarous nurses, who, undertaking to bring them up for a small and trifling sum of money, do often suffer them to starve for want of due sustenance or care," &c.

These,

These, and such other reasons, of which several were founded in fact, and all supposed to be exactly true, worked on the humanity of the nation, and *Coram* obtained such countenance, that his late Majesty granted a charter for the establishment of an hospital.

The idea of this institution was conceived upon the principle of Foundling Hospitals in France, Portugal, Venice, &c. But it doth not appear to have been considered that these are but wretched means of supplying the want of a parish rate, and to conceal the amours of the Popish Clergy, who, it is well known, are not permitted to marry.—It was not considered that if such hospital was intended to comprehend the most distressed, and one hospital could not be of much use for the *whole* kingdom, the bills of mortality was the object, and this alone would require a large support.

Whatever might be imagined of an occasional murder to conceal shame (which, I apprehend, no hospital can prevent) the great evil lay in the conduct of parish officers within the bills of mortality, who were in the habit of such negligence, as to bury all the *Infant Poor* left in their hands.

Thus, instead of making a vigorous application for the means to answer the particular exigency in its full latitude, our piety led us upon a diffuse plan of a *general relief*, though at the same time the means used were incompetent for the *particular* object.

Under so powerful a patronage, there might have been reason to hope that some great and effectual remedy would have been provided. But it is plain, from the event, that the

the matter was not rightly understood. The parish officers should, on this occasion, have told their melancholy story, and what had happened to them and their predecessors, and offered to concur in any reasonable measure to prevent the continuance of so dreadful a calamity, and also to pay for the preservation of their children, if the means of doing it could be found. But, instead of acting thus, they were as silent as the grave which had received so many thousands from their hands.

The execution of this design being undertaken on private subscriptions, there seems to have been no prospect, after the novelty of it ceased, of ever acquiring, by such means, a sufficient support to answer the end. A partial collection might prey on the humanity of individuals for a small object, but never could be adequate to the whole want.

However, money sufficient was raised, and a large and commodious building and chapel, in a very healthy and convenient situation, erected, not under the name of a *Foundling Hospital*, but, as the charter declares, an *Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of exposed and deserted Young Children*. If it had been called *An Hospital for the Reception and Education of Parish Infant Poor, within the Bills of Mortality*, the name would have corresponded with our greatest wants.

The true and precise idea would not have been absorbed in the general good proposed. The utility of the design might have been preserved without its being subject to any abuse. This would probably have happened. But the consequence of the mistake in our politics

they usually gave as an apprentice fee: St. Clement's, I have observed, did not then give above 50s.

They also encouraged the parishes to send as many children as the house could receive, adding, that these parishes cannot provide for them better, nor the public money raised for the use of the children be better employed. They subjoin to their general approval, the following particular reasons.

“ 1st. By breeding the parish children in this way, they will be taken as apprentices to very good trades, or as servants, for their education sake, and the parishes will save the money they now give with them, and the cloaths they usually provided.

2. That no accidental expence can be charged upon them by the officers of the parishes, either for sickness, cloaths, or any other accident; the 3s. per week being the whole charge in the College, and consequently the accidental book of the parish will be much lessened.

3. That no child can be paid for, that is *not*, nor any pay allowed longer than it is alive; and the officers of the parishes will, with much more ease and satisfaction, adjust their accounts, when they produce an acquittance from the house, for a voucher.

4. There will not be so many children *exposed* in the parish as now are, for it is believed that one half of the children left to the parish, in the streets, is more to save credit, and to avoid the trouble given by parish officers about security, than for want of 3s. per week to pay for them, had they a *conveniency* as in the college.

5. Here

ing, the power naturally reverts into the same hands as before, a parish or two excepted.

The general drift of the antient Poor's Law, would answer the purpose, if it could be executed with judgment, and with a zealous and sincere intention to preserve this class of our fellow citizens who are thus distressed : but without such intention reduced to practice, what can be expected ? Nothing is governed by chance.

From the time the *Foundling* Hospital, for so we call it, began to receive children on the contracted plan I have mentioned, it was about ten years, when I had an opportunity of examining what had passed in the parishes, from 1750 to 1755, and I found as follows :

	Born and received.	Dis- char- ged.	Dead.	Remain alive in 1755.
St. George, Hanover-square,	288	115	137	36
St. Luke, Middlesex, — —	53		53	
St. Giles in the Fields, and	} 415	228	169	18
St. George, Bloomsbury,				
St. Andrew above Bars, and	} 284	57	222	5
St. George the Martyr,				
St. Ann, Westminster, —	66	30	28	8
St. Saviour, Southwark, —	156	91	56	9
St. Paul, Shadwell, — —	32	11	12	9
St. Martin in the Fields, —	312	147	158	7
St. Margaret and St. John,	} 129	32	68	29
Westminster,				
Lambeth, — — — —	76	53	23	

You will observe some gross imputations or suspicions of mal-administration; but these merit the less attention, from the consideration of a great partiality for this new favorite design. As to the improvement of the Poor's laws, extended to the children's growing to manhood and setting up in trade, it supposes the charity to be calculated for commerce in great towns, not mechanics, nor labor in the field. But if effectual guards could be provided for a pure and diligent administration of such a plan, I presume it might be beneficial, in some places.

Upon the whole, several of these hints have a great analogy with the *present times*, and may be of use in digesting salutary regulations for the distressed part of mankind, and to guard against the evil accidents of life: but in this case it is evident, that too much was attempted at once: and it is a silent lesson to us to avoid the same error on this occasion. If the saving of lives was their chief object, they outrun their own intentions. At the same time it must be granted, that the preserving life is not doing all the business. Many children are sent to parishes turned of *five* years old, and are entitled to great regard with respect to *education*.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Enquiry concerning the Remains of the Effort made in 1686 in favor of the Infant Poor.

LETTER XX.

Nothing which regards the cause of humanity is uninteresting to the human heart.

'The desire of information led me to Clerkenwell, to

see

We see that St. Luke Middlesex, Lambeth, and St. James's Westminster, the discharged and dead ballance the born and received : so that not *one* child was reared by those parishes.

By this account, St. Giles's had 3 per cent. alive.

St. Andrew above bars, $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

St. Martin in the Fields, 2 per cent.

It is very easy to conceive how short a time these, 2, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ might live, for even St. Martin's, which, by the reform made, has done so wonderfully in 1765, with regard to the number of children it sent into the country, yet, for time immemorial, before the year 1756, I have heard it freely acknowledged that this parish was not known to rear a single child. Now, if this be the case, or in any degree like it, with regard to several parishes to this day, (for very few yet imitate the present conduct of St. Martin's) are we not called upon by Heaven and Earth to seek a *remedy* for so dreadful a *disease*, which, in a literal sense, sweeps off so many of our fellow citizens ?

I am willing to charge the evil to the account of custom, which has countenanced a barbarity, rather than say those who continued the custom were barbarous. Several parishes are mending ; and as to the authors of the evil, they are like the waves in agitation, which are lost in a calm.

If the fact is disputable, we must call on those who deny the charge, to produce an authentic register of their parish children nursed from their infancy, and placed out apprentices, for these seventy or eighty years past, or

as long a time as they can produce it, and we shall then see what kind of evidence it will be, *for or against* the suit.

I am, Sir, yours, J. H.

Indiscriminate Reception of Children by the Foundling Hospital, and the evil Consequences of it.

LETTER XXIV.

FOrgetting our sorrows for a while, for the loss of so many of our children, let us hasten to the consideration of the Jubilee year 1756, the grand epocha of these infants, when they were to have as fair a chance of life as the governors of the Foundling Hospital could give them.

The humanity of the legislature, at the *breaking forth* of the French war, in 1756, led them to hope, that by opening the doors of that hospital for an indiscriminate reception, they should save a great number of lives, and so far recruit the nation. Alas, the true object was still overlooked ! By being appropriated to the kingdom at large, the peculiar energy which the law might have had to preserve those who were in the utmost distress within the bills of mortality, was in danger of being utterly lost. From the moment they were blended with others in general, the dissolution of the plan was threatened.

A general expence for a local benefit, might have been objected to ; but an obligation on the parishes here to pay for each child they sent, and a requisition to send their children thither, could not have been subject to reproach. The true object being again overlooked, several mighty evils sprang up immediately from the humanity of

the legislature. Infants dying at the rate of only 14 or 16 in 100, in villages 50, 100, or 200 miles distant, were sent to town, oftentimes in a manner too shameful to relate, to take their fortune with those who had died at our doors by 60 or 70 in 100, in one year.

The consequences of bringing infants from such distances ; the temptation thrown in the way of parents to desert their children ; the parish officer to force the child from the breast of the weeping mother for fear it should be a burthen to the parish ; the reputed father to drag his child to the hospital at all events ; and the marriage, which, in similar cases of amours, had before this time usually taken place, being now neglected, these and such like evils growing from an indiscriminate reception, made it very apparent, that we were throwing down with one hand faster than we built up with the other : and that to avoid doing harm, with respect to the country children, we should be again obliged to abandon the infant poor of the Bills of Mortality.

Besides this, the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of good and able nurses for such a multitude of children brought from all parts, was very obvious. Provision might have been made very decently for 1000 or 1200 ; but 4000 annually crowded in, on the backs of each other, was oppressive to the human heart to think of : and it was morally impossible to be done in a proper manner.

Those who may infer from hence that this hospital can proceed no better with the parishes in question, must reflect that 33 in 100 *are* preserved, which to all appearance

ance is ten times as many as the parishes will save, as the event already proves in the most satisfactory manner.

As to the great article of nursing, it ought to be observed, that in 1765, no less than 1034 in 1795 parish infants exceeded the age of six months, and many were of 1, 2, and 3 years old, though the mortality of them is so heavy as appears by the Registers. Hence we may justly infer, that those who apply to parishes for relief, do not all bring children at the breast; and we may also conclude that the distress for wet nurses, though great, so near these vast cities, is not so terrible an object, in this case, as may be imagined.

Some women having lost their own children, offer their services as nurses: some do it, having weaned their child: and a strong young woman sometimes suckles two children; I am sure they often attempt it: and some are adepts in dry nursing. To improve and instruct women in methods of dry nursing, where the breast cannot be had, is a circumstance of the greatest importance, were it only for the sake of these parish infants within the Bills of Mortality: But let a woman be ever so great a proficient, she should not be trusted with above two at a time, of infants under eighteen months old, nor with above three others under six. Consideration should be also had to the *assistants* who are about her; the place as to air; the habitation as to magnitude, and the convenience she possesses: and if a decent price is given her for each child, nothing of this kind will be out of her reach. If you will give a woman any number of
children

children in town, and pay only 2s. a week each, I make no doubt but you will find such, and that the children will assuredly die in her hands.

I once heard a very *ingenious* doctrine on this subject. If, says my friend, a woman is a good woman, 2s. 6d. will do as well as 3s. and if she is not a good woman, no price will avail. Suppose we were to tell a soldier, "Friend, if you are a prudent temperate man, and content yourself with bread and water, *three-pence* a day will do for you extremely well ; and if you are not prudent, *six-pence* will not avail you ?" What would he say ? Would he think you were worth fighting for, when common labor is worth nine-pence to eighteen-pence per day ? But six-pence a day is 3s. 6d. a week for himself only, and he gets what else he can.

The Governors of the Foundling Hospital might be sometimes imposed on by a woman's pretending to suckle a child, and give it no milk from her breast, or a very scanty allowance. In order to get good nurses they sent children to nurse 20 to 40 miles distant ; the numbers upon the plan of indiscriminate reception were so great, they could not do otherwise.

Still they have reared *one* in *three*, or 33 in 100 : and if such care and expence are bestowed, as common humanity prescribes, and as the authority for levying parish rates renders practicable, there can be no doubt but that Providence will befriend the poor parish infants, as it does the rest of mankind.

The evils which sprung from this indiscriminate reception were such, it at length determined the House
of

These, and such other reasons, of which several were founded in fact, and all supposed to be exactly true, worked on the humanity of the nation, and *Coram* obtained such countenance, that his late Majesty granted a charter for the establishment of an hospital.

The idea of this institution was conceived upon the principle of Foundling Hospitals in France, Portugal, Venice, &c. But it doth not appear to have been considered that these are but wretched means of supplying the want of a parish rate, and to conceal the amours of the Popish Clergy, who, it is well known, are not permitted to marry.—It was not considered that if such hospital was intended to comprehend the most distressed, and one hospital could not be of much use for the *whole* kingdom, the bills of mortality was the object, and this alone would require a large support.

Whatever might be imagined of an occasional murder to conceal shame (which, I apprehend, no hospital can prevent) the great evil lay in the conduct of parish officers within the bills of mortality, who were in the habit of such negligence, as to bury all the *Infant* Poor left in their hands.

Thus, instead of making a vigorous application for the means to answer the particular exigency in its full latitude, our piety led us upon a diffuse plan of a *general* relief, though at the same time the means used were incompetent for the *particular* object.

Under so powerful a patronage, there might have been reason to hope that some great and effectual remedy would have been provided. But it is plain, from the event, that the

being explanatory of some difficulties which it was hardly possible those who had not experimental knowledge in the executive part could fully digest. I then mentioned some further proposals as an effort of humanity to try what might be struck out in relief of the real distressed ; but I found almost every mode of reception liable to great mixtures of evil, *the Bills of Mortality, Infant Poor, excepted*. If these are produced, through the regular channel of the parishes, and are, by a coercive law, sent from a place where they die in so vast a proportion, to a place where *one* in *three* are preserved, so as to be apprenticed out, there can no difficulty arise of any weight, to obstruct so salutary a measure.

As we are by genius, spirited, dauntless and resolute, we have also a considerable portion of that inconstancy which cleaves to *affluence* and *liberty* ; or in other words, to the power and ability of doing almost what we please : and it seems to arise from this cause, that we so often go into extremes.

This was the case with regard to the Foundling Hospital. From doing too much, which created *mischiefs*, it was determined to do nothing. Thus in March 1760, these infant poor, as I have mentioned, were, by an inevitable consequence, driven back to their old quarters, the habitations of death and the grave.

To see the good which had been done cease, though the evil blended with it was removed, could not but distress the mind of every man who had the object at heart. It had long been familiarized to me, and this event set

me upon thinking of resources how to answer so extreme an exigence.

The humanity of the Legislature being again invoked, the sessions of 1761 and 1762 produced an Act for the regular uniform annual *Register* of all parish poor under four years of age, within the Bills of Mortality. It was thought, if this did not at once accomplish all that was necessary to be done, it would be the surest way of investigating the subject : If we could not destroy the monster, we might take it prisoner : and though it was foreseen that some would treat it as an unmeaning kind of instrument, what it really is in its nature and tendency, the event fully proves.

After gratifying your curiosity, and furnishing so much matter for observation, as to what past under the direction of the justices in 1686, it is proper to inform you circumstantially of what the Parliament of Great Britain thought expedient to be done, as above mentioned, in 1762.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

*Heads of the Bill for the Register of the Infant Parish Poor,
begun in 1762.*

L E T T E R XXVI.

IT would not have answered any great purpose to have complained aloud, and might have created an opposition. The bill says only,

N

“ Whereas

“Whereas the keeping regular, uniform, and annual registers of all parish poor infants under four years of age, within the bills of mortality, may be a means of preserving the lives of such infants:” It goes on to enact,

1. That the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of every parish within the bills of mortality, or some one or more of them, shall, on or before the first day of July, in the present year 1762, provide, or cause to be provided, at the expence of their respective parish, one book of royal paper; and the book belonging to such respective parish wherein there *is* or *shall be* any *workhouse, hospital, or other house or place provided for the maintenance of the poor*, shall in every page be ruled with distinct columns, and the title of each column shall be wrote or printed in such page, agreeable to the schedule annexed, marked (A).

2. And the book belonging to each respective parish wherein there is not, nor shall be, any such workhouse, hospital house, or place, shall in every page be ruled with distinct columns, and the title of each column shall be wrote or printed in such page, agreeable to the schedule hereunto annexed, marked (B).

3. That the said churchwardens and overseers of the poor, or some one or more of them, shall enter, or cause to be entered, in the book belonging to their respective parish, and provided in pursuance of this act, all the infants under the age of *four years*, which, on the said first day of July, shall be in the workhouse, or workhouses, hospital or hospitals, or other house or

houses,

houses, place or places, provided for the maintenance, of the poor of each parish respectively, or under the care of the said churchwardens or overseers of the poor, with the times when they were received, their names, age, and whatever description relates to them, as far as can be traced, being agreeable to the schedules annexed.

4. That from and after the said first day of July, all infants under the age of four years, who shall be brought to any workhouse, or hospital house, or place provided for the maintenance of the poor, or be under the care of the said churchwardens or overseers of the poor, in their respective parishes, or any of them, shall be, by the said churchwardens or overseers of the poor, or some one or more of them, or by the direction or command of some one or more of them, entered regularly in the book aforesaid, with the times of their admittance, and all circumstances relating to them, agreeable to the titles and heads of the columns in the said schedules mentioned and set forth.

5. That the first annual register hereby intended and directed to be kept, shall commence on the said first day of July, and shall end on the thirty first day of December ensuing; and, after that time, the said annual register shall commence the first day of January, and end the thirty first day of December following.

6. That after the expiration of each year, the names of all the infants under four years of age, then living and registered in the said annual registers, and not discharged from being under the care of the churchwar-

dens or overseers of the poor, shall be transferred to the registers for the year ensuing, under their proper dates of reception, and under the description in which they stand in the preceding registers, previous to any further entry ; so that each *annual register shall contain a full and distinct register of the whole number of infants under the age abovementioned*, under the care of the parish at that time, as well as the children received under the said age, in the current year, without being intermixed or blended with the deaths or discharges of any in the preceding years.

7. That the said annual registers, and every of them, shall be signed within thirty days after the expiration of each respective year, by the vestry, or any five of them, and by the churchwardens, overseers, vestry clerk, and master of the workhouse, for the time being ; and where there is no vestry or vestry clerk, by the churchwardens, overseers, and master of the workhouse ; and where there is no master of the workhouse, by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor.

8. That in case any infant is received into the workhouse or under the care of the said churchwardens or overseers of the poor, before the said infant is baptized, or known to be baptized, due care shall be taken to baptize, the same within fourteen days after the reception of such infant, so that the christian and the true surname, if known, and, if not known, a surname to be given by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, or any one of them, be regularly entered in the said book ; and the name and surname of such infant shall also
be

be registered in the parish-register of such parish: and in case of a difficulty of distinguishing children, some proper mark shall be affixed to the child's cloaths, or hung round his or her neck.

9. That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to such children whose parents receive money from the parish in aid of the maintenance and support of such children, they not being in the workhouse or other parish house.

10. That a copy of the said register wrote up, from time to time, shall, every month, be laid by the vestry clerk, or other person appointed for that purpose, before the respective vestries, or other parochial meetings assembled in vestry, that the same may be revised by them.

11. That the said copy of the register being completed at the end of the year, shall be deposited in the vestry-room, or other place of parochial meetings, to remain there for the use of the vestry-men, or other parochial meetings.

12. That the original register-book shall remain and be carefully preserved and kept with the rest of the parish-books in the hands of the parish officers for the time being.

13. That all the respective parishes within the bills of mortality by the hand of their vestry-clerk, or, where there is no vestry-clerk, by the hands of the churchwardens, or one of them, shall, on or before the *fifteenth* day of February in every year, deliver fair copies of their respective registers of children under
the

the age of four years, signed in manner hereby directed, into the hands of the clerk of the master, wardens, and court of assistants of the company of parish-clerks, or such person as the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company, shall appoint, he returning a receipt for the same signed by himself.

14. That the said clerk, or other person appointed by the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company, shall receive the said copies of registers, and cause the same to be bound in a book, collecting and ranging together the registers of the

97 parishes within the walls of the city of London,

17 parishes without the walls of the city of London,

23 parishes in Middlesex and Surry,

10 parishes in the city and liberty of Westminster, in alphabetical order; and in this order he shall, on or before the 25th day of March in every year, make out, or cause to be made out, one general abstract of the same.

15. That the said registers of the respective parishes, together with the said general abstract, being bound in a book together, shall remain deposited in the hands and custody of the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company of parish-clerks.

16. That the said clerk, or other person appointed by the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company of parish clerks, shall print, or cause to be printed, the said general abstract, and deliver six copies thereof to every vestry-clerk, or to one of the churchwardens, of all the respective parishes within
the

the bills of mortality, for the use of the parishioners and parish officers.

17. That for and in consideration of the expence and trouble of receiving the said copies of registers, making an exact abstract thereof, binding the registers and abstracts in a book to remain as a depository of the same, printing the general abstract, distributing the copies thereof, with other contingent expences relating to the same, each parish shall, by the hands of the vestry-clerk or churchwarden, pay into the hands of the clerk or other person appointed by the said master, wardens, and court of assistants of the said company of parish clerks, the sum of fifteen shillings at the time the said copies of registers are delivered to him, he passing a receipt for the same.

18. That if any churchwarden, overseer of the poor, vestry-man, clerk of the vestry, master of the workhouse, master or warden of such company of parish-clerks, or any clerk of such company, or any other person or persons, shall neglect his duty as directed in and by this act, such churchwarden, overseer of the poor, clerk of the vestry, or master of the workhouse, master or warden of such company of parish-clerks, or such clerk of such company, person or persons, shall, for every offence, forfeit and pay to the informer the sum of *forty shillings*; to be recovered before any one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, and to be levied by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the offender, by virtue of a warrant under the hand and seal of such justice before whom the same
shall

shall be recovered, directed to any constable or other peace officer." These are the heads of the Act, and

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Remarks on the Act for the Register of the Infant Poor.

L E T T E R XXVII.

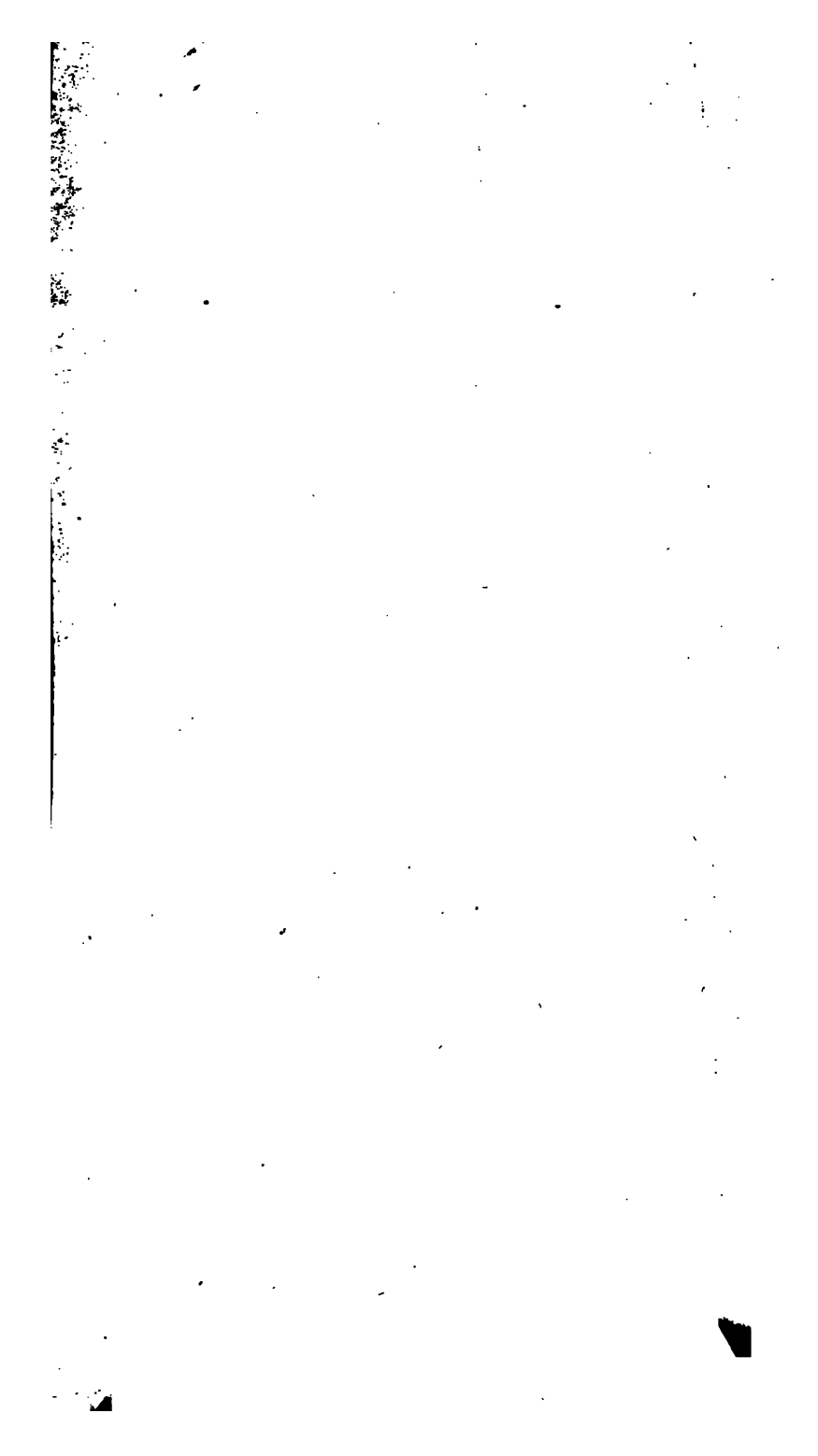
WHEN this act was soliciting, some persons of great note objected to it, as a thing *unnecessary*, presuming the duty to be already done; and that either there were no such evils existing as the act supposed, or that it could not be a means to remedy them.

As to the *past*, you have seen that I had already examined the registers, for several years; and could not mistake as to the great point of mortality.—And as to what was *to come*, time only could demonstrate.

This act at first gave occasion in some parishes, to demand twice as much as formerly, viz. 15*l.* to 20*l.* with each bastard child; though in fact nothing less than 50*l.* can be deemed adequate to the support of a life.

As the principal objects are the children under 12 months old, the *Abstract* should be rendered more particular in this point, and it is so far improvable, viz. at (a) may be inserted, *Of whom were under 12 months old*; and at (b) *Of whom were under 12 months old*.

By such parish-registers, as are kept with exactness, any child may be easily traced out. And if they are
not



being explanatory of some difficulties which it was hardly possible those who had not experimental knowledge in the executive part could fully digest. I then mentioned some further proposals as an effort of humanity to try what might be struck out in relief of the real distressed ; but I found almost every mode of reception liable to great mixtures of evil, *the Bills of Mortality, Infant Poor, excepted*. If these are produced, through the regular channel of the parishes, and are, by a coercive law, sent from a place where they die in so vast a proportion, to a place where *one* in *three* are preserved, so as to be apprenticed out, there can no difficulty arise of any weight, to obstruct so salutary a measure.

As we are by genius, spirited, dauntless and resolute, we have also a considerable portion of that inconstancy which cleaves to *affluence* and *liberty* ; or in other words, to the power and ability of doing almost what we please : and it seems to arise from this cause, that we so often go into extremes.

This was the case with regard to the Foundling Hospital. From doing too much, which created *mischiefs*, it was determined to do nothing. Thus in March 1760, these infant poor, as I have mentioned, were, by an inevitable consequence, driven back to their old quarters, the habitations of death and the grave.

To see the good which had been done cease, though the evil blended with it was removed, could not but distress the mind of every man who had the object at heart. It had long been familiarized to me, and this event set

not so kept, every officer in the parish mentioned in the act, is subject to the penalty directed by the law, for every offence, which will amount to a considerable sum.

By the article 18, the penalties extend to churchwardens, overseers, vestrymen, clerks of vestries, and masters of workhouses; and as the minister generally makes one of the vestry, it behoves him more particularly to see that justice be done to these poor infants.

It is also presumed, that the humanity of the clergy will induce them to lend a tender eye, and see what is passing, that there may not be any departure from the sense and commandment of the act, as well-knowing that the cries of such poor infants cannot easily reach the lofty domes or palaces of lords or gentlemen, either in their private or legislative capacities. They must be informed, before they can redress; nor ought we to expect miracles, but a decent conscientious regard to the laws of humanity.

The 6th article provides that *each register shall contain a full and distinct register of the whole number of infants under four years old.*

It ought therefore to be clearly expressed as a title at the head of each division in the register, (though the same sheet should contain the whole) viz. *Children transferred from the year to the year*, expressing the date when first taken, so that each register contain at least four distinctions of years. The abstract made by the company of parish-clerks, cannot include

those distinctions, and it is therefore the more laborious to trace out the real state of the children.

Most part of the *registers* mention the *years* in the *column*, with a *needless* repetition of them, The *title* with the year as abovementioned would answer the purpose more distinctly.

Some few of the registers make no distinction of one year's receipt from another. In such the children would appear to be all of the same year, and as if no transfer had been made, except by observing the months.

In the general view, I consider the abstract of 1765 as of so many children received in that year, making such distinctions as hereafter mentioned.

Upon the face of the abstract of 1764, there appears to have been living, transferable to 1765,

	In the work-house and parish houses.	In the country.
In St. Ann's Soho - - -	14	6
St. George's Hanover-square -	26	14
St. James's Westminster - -	10	9
St. John and St. Margaret's -	26	8
St. Martin's in the Fields -	6	28
St. Clement's - - - - -	1	
St. Mary's le Strand - - - -	1	
St. Paul's Covent-Garden - -	0	2
The Precinct of the Savoy - -	0	0
In the 10 Parishes in Westminster	84	67
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It is to be presumed, that many parish officers are excited to such acts of humanity, to avoid the risk of children's lives, especially those whose eyes are opened to behold, that *poor-houses* or *workhouses*, are in general *slaughter-houses* to infants.

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With regard to the contempt which some have affected to shew to the act, I thought it would meet this fate, though the conditions of it are as gentle and persuasive, as its bent and design are politic and humane. To have attempted much in the compulsive strain, after so many ages of relaxation of discipline, might have failed : but the time is come for a retrospective view of four years. *Some of the principal registers, I am persuaded are exact, but it may be necessary hereafter, that they be attested upon oath, to the best of the knowledge and belief of those who sign them.*

To leave no means untried, immediately after this Act passed, I wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Serious Considerations on the Act, &c.* and addressed it to the churchwardens and overseers of the Poor (a). A particular parish or two, whose Governors and Directors are for the most part much my superiors, received it with great politeness and attention, and adopted several of the hints contained in it ; but I doubt if others, who, perhaps, cannot boast of the same advantages as those governors, know there is such a pamphlet existing. I mention it now as an anecdote which ought to have its place, if not as an argument that some of the parishes stand in need of *serious* admonition.

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I am, yours, J. H.

The natural good Effects expected from the Register of the Infant Poor.

LETTER XXVIII.

AFTER the Act for the Register of these Infants was passed in *public*, it might well be a question in *private*, who would look to the execution of it. You are sensible, Sir, that all laws stand in need of some peculiar attendance, to inform Legislators if there is any violation of them. Vulgar prejudices, in this land of liberty, seem to oppose this maxim: but it is so essential to our freedom, as to become the duty of those who think deeper, and mean to see justice done to every individual with an equal balance. As far as they are able they ought to trample down those prejudices which are enemies to the common rights of subjects.

In the case before us, there is an irresistible demand on humanity, the parties injured being utterly incapable of making any other complaint than their cries, which are not easily heard or understood.

It is true, that in our constitution every Member of the Legislature is supposed to observe what is passing in the world, the same as other private men. But if an act is not of a nature to affect the revenue, nor concerns any private interest or convenience: if it creates no new office, nor affords occasion for any parade in the executive part of law, there is room to suspect it will become a

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dead letter. Parochial transactions give evidence to this melancholy truth every day, even where there are acts of parliament for particular parishes. But if an act combats a custom grown formidable by length of time : if legal authority, derived from an ancient law, is pleaded for the very neglect of the meaning and intention of an act to correct an abuse, the difficulty encreases. When we come to investigate our present object, and lay it before the impartial world, I hope we shall not hear the better of the general Poor's law, urged against the spirit of the particular act made in favor of the Infant Poor in question.

It is to be observed, that even previous to the act, the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields began to correct themselves. I had been in correspondency with a friend of the vestry, to whom I had communicated my sentiments in the following letter, the subject of which is still necessary to be considered by the most part of the parish officers.

"DEAR SIR,
It is with great joy I hear, that your present churchwardens and overseers, intend to send all the infant poor born in your workhouse, or brought to it, into the country to be nursed. The general complaint against you is, that you have suffered overseers to take on themselves to dispose of infants arbitrarily as they please. But could it ever be conceived, that these officers, being chosen by the parish, under two justices of the peace (which parish your vestry represents) should give laws to the pa-

shall be recovered, directed to any constable or other peace officer." These are the heads of the Act, and

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Remarks on the Act for the Register of the Infant Poor.

L E T T E R XXVII.

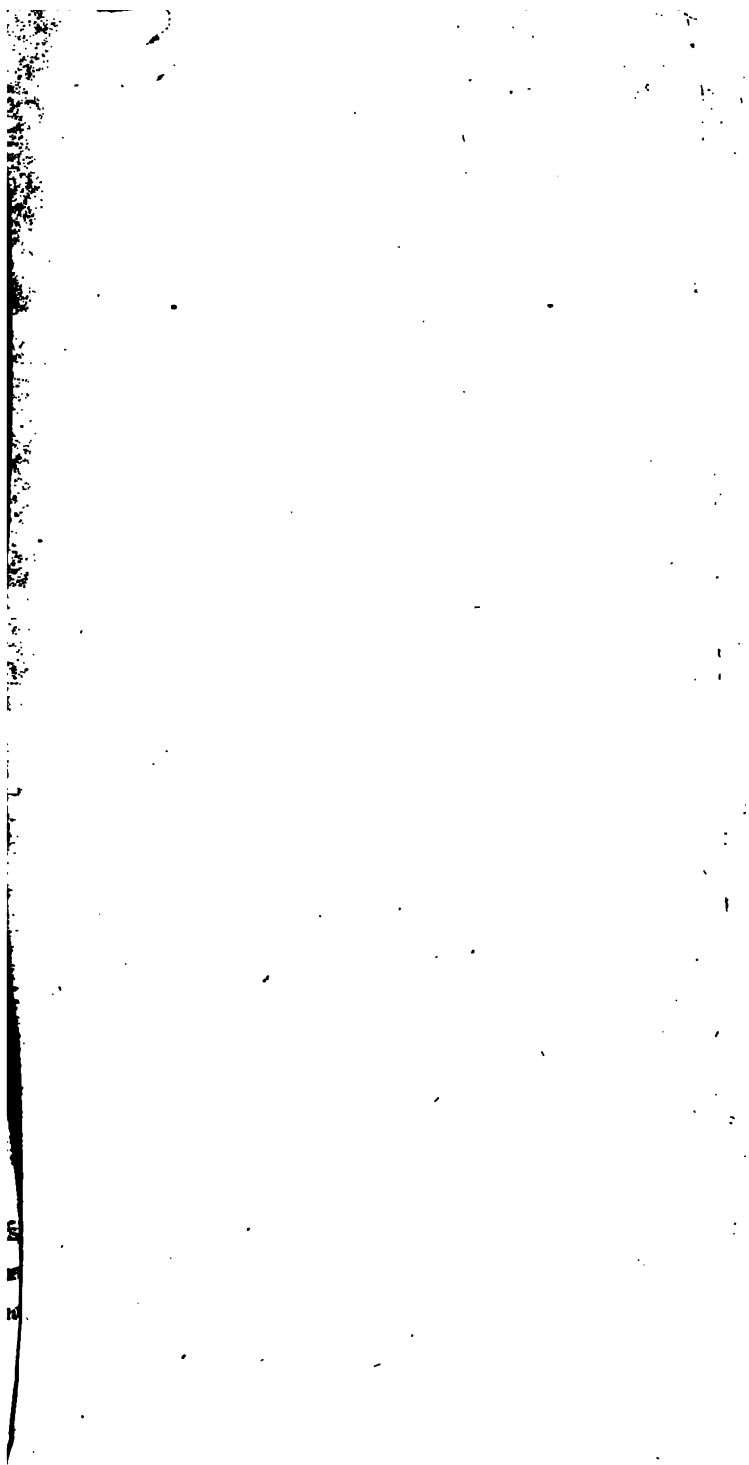
WHEN this act was soliciting, some persons of great note objected to it, as a thing *unnecessary*, presuming the duty to be already done; and that either there were no such evils existing as the act supposed, or that it could not be a means to remedy them.

As to the *past*, you have seen that I had already examined the registers, for several years; and could not mistake as to the great point of mortality.—And as to what was *to come*, time only could demonstrate.

This act at first gave occasion in some parishes, to demand twice as much as formerly, viz. 15*l.* to 20*l.* with each bastard child; though in fact nothing less than 50*l.* can be deemed adequate to the support of a life.

As the principal objects are the children under 12 months old, the *Abstract* should be rendered more particular in this point, and it is so far improvable, viz. at (a) may be inserted, *Of whom were under 12 months old*; and at (b) *Of whom were under 12 months old*.

By such parish-registers, as are kept with exactness, any child may be easily traced out. And if they are
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not so kept, every officer in the parish mentioned in the act, is subject to the penalty directed by the law, for every offence, which will amount to a considerable sum.

By the article 18, the penalties extend to churchwardens, overseers, vestrymen, clerks of vestries, and masters of workhouses; and as the minister generally makes one of the vestry, it behoves him more particularly to see that justice be done to these poor infants.

It is also presumed, that the humanity of the clergy will induce them to lend a tender eye, and see what is passing, that there may not be any departure from the sense and commandment of the act, as well-knowing that the cries of such poor infants cannot easily reach the lofty domes or palaces of lords or gentlemen, either in their private or legislative capacities. They must be informed, before they can redress; nor ought we to expect miracles, but a decent conscientious regard to the laws of humanity.

The 6th article provides that *each register shall contain a full and distinct register of the whole number of infants under four years old.*

It ought therefore to be clearly expressed as a *title* at the head of each division in the register, (though the same sheet should contain the whole) viz. *Children transferred from the year to the year*, expressing the date when first taken, so that each register contain at least *four distinctions of years*. The *abstract* made by the company of parish-clerks, cannot include

those distinctions, and it is therefore the more laborious to trace out the real state of the children.

Most part of the *registers* mention the *years* in the column, with a *needless* repetition of them, The *title* with the year as abovementioned would answer the purpose more distinctly.

Some few of the registers make no distinction of one year's receipt from another. In such the children would appear to be all of the same year, and as if no transfer had been made, except by observing the months.

In the general view, I consider the abstract of 1765 as of so many children received in that year, making such distinctions as hereafter mentioned.

Upon the face of the abstract of 1764, there appears to have been living, transferable to 1765,

	In the work-house and parish houses.	In the country.
In St. Ann's Soho - - -	14	6
St. George's Hanover-square -	26	14
St. James's Westminster - -	10	9
St. John and St. Margaret's -	26	8
St. Martin's in the Fields -	6	28
St. Clement's - - - - -	1	
St. Mary's le Strand - - - -	1	
St. Paul's Covent-Garden - -	0	2
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rich? And how it has entered the heart of any man, to recommend himself by parsimony, at the expence of the lives of his own species, when the *riches* of his country, consists chiefly in the number of working poor; is a circumstance which the most barbarous ages could have no conception of.

Never surely was a more capital blunder committed in any civilized state, or any Christian country, than the doctrine of saving money to the parish, by suffering their infant poor to die! The parish is a part of the community, in the same manner as a private family is part of it. A number of private families constitute a parish, and support their own poor, not the poor of other parishes; and you will see by the calculation inclosed, which is thought to be a modest one, that every child who dies, instead of being a *saving*, creates a heavy loss to the community.

Sad experience has taught, that it is certain destruction to infants to leave them to be nursed in your work-houses, or in places where numbers of adults are congregated, yet it has been continued, and the parishioners have been careless spectators of the abuse.

To trust the lives of infants, as is generally done, in the hands of persons whose very situation in the work-house, implies their being either careless or indolent, sickly or insane, stupid, abandoned, or superannuated, is as shocking to humanity as to common policy.

I have attended the deaths of near ten thousand children, out of 15000, who have been received by order of parliament in the Foundling Hospital; and I know
how.

how the effects of the vices of the common people, in these great cities, extend to their offspring : but for the same reason that common prostitution creates sterility, the number of children born diseased, is not near so large as some parish-officers would have it thought.

As to illegitimate children and foundlings, they are for the most part born of domestic servants, and begotten in the warmth of good ale, beef, and pudding : the death of such infants is therefore the more capital reproach. Children who are in the state between these two extremes, ought, on the great principles of policy and humanity, to have as fair a chance of life as the children of peers of the realm ; and it would be so, but that *police is neglected* and humanity not in fashion as to these infants. The evil has been long complained of, and no remedy found but the *Foundling Hospital*, and this, upon the plan of an indiscriminate reception, has proved worse than the disease.

We are now endeavoring to restore things to their primitive state, and by the blessings of heaven, repair the havoc made in workhouses, as well as in the field. The design of a *regular uniform register* will probably operate in this manner. It will be truly honorable for the *King's parish* to take the lead, and the names of your vestry, and the present churchwardens and overseers, may be transmitted down to posterity with the highest commendations.

If you pursue the plan proposed, of giving good premiums to nurses who preserve the children you commit to their care, (which was practised with success by the

Foundling Hospital) you will make it the interest and honor of the nurses to save the children ; or if you chuse good women as nurses, and pay them properly, you will turn the current of the bad opinion prevailing among the common people, namely, *that parish officers never intend that parish infants should live.*

In the mean while I recommend to your caution, to distinguish healthy children from diseased, especially such as may have venereal taints. You have greatly the advantage of the Foundling Hospital upon the indiscriminate plan, because you generally know the parents, and can judge of the state of the child. And if the wife of the master of your workhouse, or any other woman, having common sense, is taught to examine and make the distinction ; or if you have a medical gentleman to examine your children when you send them to nurse, and distinguish the *clean* from the *foul*, or the *suspected*, you will then breed the two latter by hand, and not run any risk of hurting a nurse, which but very rarely happens. This will give your children a reputation among nurses, and yourselves a title to examine also into the state of the health of nurses, that no child be hurt by any of *them*, which is by far the more probable case.

When you cannot find good wet nurses, and are obliged to wean children, I am told, and I have seen some instances, that females are in less danger without the breast than males ; but this I refer to the learned, remembering that in the view of population, the female is the most valuable.

The order of Nature is the breast. The common deviation from it by so many women giving their children up to others to be suckled, makes it impossible that *all* the children of the poor can be *properly* nourished ; but it should be remembered, that the breast for a month, a week, or a day, may frequently save a life. And upon the whole, the more you encourage women who are not abandoned, to suckle their own children, the better it will be for the public.

If you mean to have your children bred to be strong, useful and virtuous, do not bring them back to London from their nurses in the country. If you really mean to *preserve their lives*, never think them safe in a workhouse. They are as subject to be poisoned there, as any adult can be by a jail distemper, when it prevails in a prison. Keep them in the country whilst they are well ; 'prentice them out there, and let London be recruited by strong people, who have imbibed good sentiments.

In any case remember that sweet air is the balm of life ; and that these young persons cannot partake of it freely, when mixed with the filthy or diseased, the old or infirm, or with any great number of adults, in any place, much less in such rooms as workhouses afford. In any case the smaller the number you bring together, old or young, sick or well, you may be assured the more healthy they will be. I heartily wish you success, and am, with great truth,

Dear Sir, yours, &c. J. H."

"Whatever use my friend made of this letter, it is certain *St. Martin's in the Fields* has sent a number

of children in 1765 into the country, in the most advantageous manner, and preserved them. I hope you will follow the example.

I am, yours, J. H.

Further Remarks relating to the Register of the Infant Poor.

LETTER XXIX.

FROM the view of the six years reception of Infants in several of the principal parishes mentioned in my letter XXIII. it may be reasonably presumed, that for ages before the opening of the Hospital, for such general reception of Foundlings, the parish officers within the bills of mortality sported away the lives of many thousand children. They acknowledged that a very inconsiderable number of those born in workhouses, or brought to them in infancy, were ever reared; and that the pious and politic intention of our good forefathers, were in this instance defeated. In fact, the office of an elder of the parish, a father of the poor, viz. a churchwarden, or overseer of the poor, with respect to the most helpless of mankind, was become a cruel exercise of authority, the officer acting as the wolf toward the lamb in the fable. If the child brought money, it was squandered, or deemed no object: if no money was brought, this was a *secret* reason why no expence should be made upon it; and in either case the child became a sacrifice.

But

But how is the evil to be remedied? We seem to act as if we were not sensible of our disease; or that human nature, in the persons of infants, is not worthy of much regard.

Though children, not arrived to years of reflection, do not suffer for evils past, or evils to come, yet present misery affects them; and the *property* which the public has in their lives, is not the less sacred, whether they are sensible of the injuries they suffer or not. I complain how little this act hath been respected by many parishes; and how much the spirit and design of it hath been neglected by many more. But still we must thank heaven for the proportion of good it has already produced: and hope it will be a means of compleating the great work in hand.

You and all the world who will bestow a moment's attention on the authentic accounts which I have given you, will not hesitate in drawing your conclusions that the object is interesting far beyond common conception, not only as we stand bound to our country, to take the best care possible of such children, but also as we are under an eternal obligation to conform to the laws of the great legislator of mankind.

These infants, whose fortune it is to be thrown on the justice of their country, derive such a title to protection as cannot be withheld without a manifest violation of the most sacred regards, civil and religious. And it is no less obvious, that to pretend to be solicitous for the glory of our country, and at the same time to shew little

little or no regard to her children, who are, in the most familiar sense, the highest object of her love, and intended to be protected by her laws, argues that we have no adequate idea of the meaning of our words, or do not understand what the glory or welfare of our country signifies.

If the health of the people governed, or in other words, their *preservation*, is the supreme law of a good prince; and, if he acts by the instrumentality of his subjects, to pretend to admire that sort of conduct in him, which we have no heart to imitate, when it is in our power, can hardly be admitted as a proof of sincerity.

The life of a man, whether he be of *sixty years*, or only *six days* standing, is equally sacred in the eye of the law, and the poor as well as the rich. And the young, instead of being the *least*, as vulgarly imagined, are the *most valuable* to the community. Veneration, respect, tenderness, and commiseration are due to the aged, because they are old; but the glory of the world, like the *rising sun*, springs from the growing strength, beauty, and mental powers of a rising generation.

The tacit admonition which this act, with the schedules annexed to it contain, and the very obvious meaning of it, might easily give occasion to the *common people* to call it, as they did, *An act for keeping children alive*. If this sense had been entertained by the parochial officers of certain parishes, the King would
already

already have had, in three years and a half, to the end of 1765, full 1200 subjects more than he has.

The giving a clear and distinct account when the children were born or received, at what ages ; in whose hands they are placed ; and what farther befel them, in a comprehensive historical detail contained in one line, could not be considered but as a resolution on the part of the legislature, that ample justice should be done them.

The act does not point out by express injunction, what method shall be pursued in *nursing* them, but it supposes, that the *parish officers will conform to the heads of the schedules annexed to it*, to the utmost that will tend to the preservation of the lives of the subjects committed to their care.

The providence of heaven never ceases. In spite of all neglects, this act is necessarily productive of such clear and *explicit information of the true and real state of the case, that a firm foundation is laid for an explicit law*, such as the exigency requires, and such as may at length subdue this *Hydra* in the body natural and political.

It will rest on the wisdom of the legislature, whether they have sufficient evidence in this business or not ; whether some further law is necessary ; and what law it shall be. The annual object at the lowest computation is not less than 800 or 1000 children, agreeable to the abstracts of the registers of the year 1765.

Of 1795 children, being the whole amount in 1765,
with

with the transfers from June 1762 continued till December 1764, the account stands as follows :

995 were infants newly born, and brought to the parishes, under 12 months old.

800 of 1 to 4 years old.

Of these were

115 Foundlings. 632 Illegitimate.

228 Casual. 820 Parochial.

If we suppose 1000 of these 1795 children to have been orphans, or in the situation of orphans, unprotected by any earthly creature, *Mercy* herself will plead their cause. The distinctions of the years, and the number in each in the several years, stand thus :

Year.	Number including transfers from year to year.	Number exclusive of transfers.	Delivered to parents.	Dead.	Remain to be transferred.
1762	1018	1018.	171	302	545
1763	1526	981	410	279	837
1764	1693	856	507	569	617
1765	1795	1178	470	586	734
	6032	4033	1558	1736	

From whence it plainly appears by the small *total* that the officers reduced the number as much as they could. As there is but 690 remaining on the register, at the end of 1765, we must suppose 49 (the difference of 739 and 690) dropt in the gulph of oblivion. Deducting 1558 from 4033, remain 2475, which on 3 years and half, is not full 800 a year to be provided for. How the number comes to be so small, and how this small number moulders

moulders away, the parish officers can best inform us ;
 alas ! the case is but too obvious.

I am yours, &c. J. H.

*Plan for exonerating the Public, and promoting the Service of
 the Foundlings.*

L E T T E R XXX.

THE House of Commons having, upon the maturest deliberation, resolved not to allow any more money, except for the maintenance and education of the children who were alive at the end of March 1760, and the register being established, it seemed to be the greatest object of the corporation of the Foundling Hospital, how to breed up and place out the number of children in their hands, being above 5000. In hopes of serving the children, and preparing the way for some further important operation, in 1763 I applied my thoughts to the most expeditious mode of exonerating the public ; at the same time providing in the most safe and prudent manner for the welfare of the poor children.

I considered the power of money to do *good or evil*: and the customs of this nation, wherein one hardly sees any thing effectually executed without it. I compared the customs of the most respectable public charitable institutions. I corresponded with the most intelligent people of fortune and experience in the country, charged with the care of the Foundlings at nurse : and upon the force of this knowledge, I wrote a *proposal*

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for giving apprentice fees with the Foundlings growing up, some few of them being already fit for masters: and I gave the several reasons which occurred to me, why the children might be prenticed out earlier and better *with* apprentice fees than *without* them, viz.

1. I supposed that great *caution* and *money* would do more than great caution only.

2. That 7l. 10s. in the hands of the laboring part of mankind, prudently paid to them, was a greater sum than in the hands of the governors of the Foundling Hospital.

3. That children ought to be trained early, and familiarized to the objects by which they are to get their bread, especially in employments of labor.

4. That the public might probably save the maintenance of each child for near two years by this means; and if it did, there would be a *saving* of 60 or 70,000l.

Whether I mistook in over-rating the advantage in a pecuniary light, I know not; but I had such good evidence for my opinion, as to the *principle* I adopted, that I have not since found any reason to alter it.

It is common when an opinion is not agreeable to a community, or that evils are apprehended to flow from it, to represent it as meaning much more, or much less than was intended, and consequently to think and speak of it as *dangerous*, if not *absurd*. In the mean time there is generally some reason in the breast not avowed. I had no views but the *service* of the children.

Whatever

Whatever good reasons may be urged, and no doubt there may be some *good* ones, it is certain the governors have not applied for money to parliament, to enable them to pursue this method, but, on the contrary, have opposed it. Whether *they* continue in the same mind, or whether the H. of C. have changed their opinion, time will discover.

The chief reasons assigned against this proposal were, as follow :

1. That if money were given, people would crowd in for the *money*, and the poor children have the worse chance of being taken care of, as it would be impossible to acquire a competent knowledge of the characters of persons applying.

2. That a dangerous partiality might be shewn in the disposal of these children with money.

3. That many parish children are placed out in these great cities, to very wretched or worthless people. To this I answer,

1. That the proving too much, proves nothing ; but if people *crowded thither*, there would be the greater choice.

2. That only 3 or 4l. are generally given with parish children, whereas I propose as far as 10l.

3. That the parish children are oftentimes thrown into the world, merely to exonerate the parish ; whereas the greater caution was intended with the Foundlings, as the child *with* money was more valuable than the same child *without*.

4. That such people as might be supposed proper to take such children, ought to be assisted even if their humanity, or their connections with a child, or their conveniency, should induce them to take the charge *without money*.

5. That I did not desire any child should be placed out in these great cities, where it is more difficult to know the true state of masters that might offer to take them, and where there is so much wickedness. But still that if characters are to be discovered, where the master has no fee with his 'prentice, they are also to be known when money is given.

6. That I mean to place the children chiefly in the country, where peoples characters and abilities are known.

7. That, in fact, there are not a *tenth* part of the Foundlings in London.

8. That so much regard seemed to be due to these children who have been deprived of parents; and their safety and happiness depending so much on good masters and mistresses, I would decline putting out *ten* children to proper masters and mistresses, rather than part with *one* with any suspicion of its being ill treated, or rendered a vagabond.

I am, your's, &c. J. H.

*Resolutions of the House of Commons concerning the Foundlings
in 1765.*

L E T T E R . XXXI.

MY proposal slept till the beginning of 1765, and might have slept if it had not been adopted by certain persons in their legislative capacity.

The 8th of February, 1765, the accounts of the Foundling Hospital, usually called for every year, were ordered to be laid before *the House*.

The next day an account was required of the number of children in the several dependant hospitals of *Ackworth, Shrewsbury, Chester, Westerham, Aylesbury, and Barnet*, distinguishing how many were of the age of *six* years and upwards, and how many were at nurse.

On the first of March these accounts were referred to a committee, with powers to enquire into the state of the Hospital as to the putting out the children.

On the 26th a report was made to the House, which was agreed to.

On the 2d of April, a bill was ordered to be brought in upon these *resolutions*.

The *first* article was, "That the lodging and educating of Foundling children within hospitals, has a tendency to make such children less fit for laborious and useful employments."

The 6th, "That all the lands and buildings purchased, erected, rented or hired, and the stock and furniture
2 provided

Reasons given for petitioning against the Bill brought into the House of Commons, in regard to the Foundling Hospital.

L E T T E R XXXII.

IT is very obvious that some of the resolutions of the House appeared to be premature, and others subject to exception.

One of the reasons urged against the bill was, that it was not possible to put out children at seven years of age, construing this as an absolute injunction, which was only conditional *if proper masters can be found*.

Another reason was, that the two Hospitals of Ackworth and Shrewsbury, ordered to be sold or mortgaged as if they were the property of the public, did belong to the corporation, and consequently it would be a violation of their property to order them to be disposed of.

Lastly, that they (the governors) could dispose of the children better *without* 'prentice fees than *with* them.

Here it must be remarked, that the intention was to appropriate the produce of the hospitals so disposed of to the purpose of apprentice fees. The debate, however, seemed to be premature and unnecessary to whom these hospitals belonged. In strict equity, I believe they belong to the *public*, and I have many reasons in support of my opinion; but at the same time I conceive the public need not enter upon the question, so long

long as they are necessary for the more advantageous placing out the *children*, now lodged in them. And when this work is done, it may be most expedient to leave them in the hands of the governors of the corporation, if they act agreeable to the sense of the legislature and can render them instrumental in advancing the *public good* : and this seems to be very practicable, as I shall hereafter relate.

In resolution (1) there is an ambiguity : children may be *less* fitted for *laborious* employment, being bred in hospitals, but not therefore unfit for *useful* occupations.

Boys bred in the open fields from their infancy, and accustomed to the object by which they are to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, promise fairest to be bold, hardy, strong, and active. But where there is a great number of *public children* without parents, and without masters, and which have been so situated at nurse, that no instruction can be given them, we must not condemn this education in the lump ; especially when it is only for a few years till they can be ushered into the world.

Where children can be taught properly, and placed out with propriety, without being congregated, it seems to be the most *politic*, and I apprehend the most humane method. But till we have experience how to manage such poor young children belonging to the public, as for ages past have died like drowned kittens, let us proceed with caution, and pick out our way : let us not stumble on, and lose our object for want of a little patience.

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Nothing is more apparent than our being very far from a right train with respect to the class of children in question : and if they are in distress, and we condemn at once such succors as *may* be brought in to them, we shall not act consistently. Let us see what can be done before we conclude what to do. Let us first examine what is necessary to the welfare of these subjects, and put them in a right train.

We are now erecting buildings in many places, as a means of congregating the lazy and indigent, in order to oblige them to earn their bread. Therefore, to draw conclusions, as if in one case such buildings would be of great use and essentially necessary, and in the other prove detrimental, may not evince our policy or humanity. Whose the property in these large and commodious buildings may be, is not so essential a consideration as that they remain in the hands of the corporation *till it is seen whether they can be advantageously employed*: This is necessary not only for the remaining children of the public, now existing in the hands of the corporation, or for some considerable part of them ; but also upon a plan of providing for others, who may, with yet greater propriety, be called *children of the public* saved from the parochial wrecks of the bills of mortality, which is our present object.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Resolutions of the House of Commons in 1756, in regard to the Foundling Hospital.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

THE genius of Liberty never shines with more transcendent brightness than in those laws which are calculated for the preservation of the common people, particularly the poor, and of these the infant part, who are under the more immediate care of heaven. The House of Commons in 1756 came to certain resolutions in their favor. In 1760 they came to quite different resolutions, and still the true object of the Hospital is not fixed. In April 1756 the House *resolved*,

“That the enabling the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of exposed and deserted young children to receive all the children which shall be offered, is the only method to render that charity of lasting and general utility.”—It was also *resolved*,

“That to render the said Hospital of general utility and effect, it should be enabled to appoint proper places in all counties, ridings, or divisions of the kingdom, for the *reception of all* exposed and deserted young children.”

These resolutions are grounded on a general supposition that no woman would part with a child but under such circumstances as render the support of it impracticable to her; but the event has proved the fallacy of the opinion.

Were we to suppose that every one unused to dainties will be temperate at a table spread with all the luxuri-

ancy of modern cookery, we should probably count too much on the temperance of the individual. What I now mention is demonstrated to have been a mistake in politics. It was not a measure calculated for the genius of the good people of England : we are too daring and repugnant to salutary laws. All restraint being taken off, and acting under the sanction of secrecy, it is no wonder that we abused the indulgence, and brought children from great distances, *all at the hazard, and many* with the *loss* of their lives.

Nor do I conceive the matter would be mended if, instead of *one receiving* Foundling Hospital in London, we had one in each county, with a view to prevent the danger of children being brought from great distances. This would rather multiply the evil, and prove one of the most injurious measures that could well happen to us, with regard to the morals, industry, marriages, parental love, and domestic duties of the common people, on all which heads I have told you my sentiments. But to argue from hence against an hospital, which it is evident *can* afford relief in certain instances of preserving life, where relief is much wanted, and which *can* be given without entailing evils, seems to be equally dangerous and fallacious. We may err by correcting too much and too fast, or by leaving a disease without a remedy, as well as by making the remedy worse than the disease.

In regard to the establishment of county workhouses, or houses of Industry, these may answer for the government of adults by rendering them more industrious; but such places cannot receive infants, unless at the
 4 mother's

mother's breast ; and in this case they will be in great danger from being congregated in numbers : the mother will rear the child much better in a cottage. But even in case of such workhouses, the bills of mortality will remain equally unprovided for.

Whilst I plead for the Hospital, you are not to imagine that I mean any total or unnecessary separation of children from their parents. The lacedemonian plan might do for a little pagan country of soldiers, and their slaves ; but will never answer for our extensive christian land of general freedom, where nature and law, reason and religion unite in one common cause to guide and to defend us. As our religion and laws are constituted, parental affection and filial piety are the strongest cements of society. The habits of love and obedience mutually arising from these connections, as they are most agreeable to nature, become the most permanent supports of government.

I have therefore no idea of putting any child, whose parents are known, in the situation of a *foundling* : if these are such as will not charge themselves, and ought not to be trusted with a child, the *Public* becomes the *Parent*. In so vast a multitude there will be some parents so ill qualified to take charge of their own children, that they cannot be in worse hands. When this happens to be the case, or that the parents give the child to be educated by the public in the manner best calculated to preserve life, and provide a proper education, there can be no violation of parental rights. In effect it is done in all cases where parents send the child to the
parish,

parish, and are not able or willing to think any more about it.

The idea of a public hospital for the reception and relief of distressed infants within these bills of mortality, ascertaining the object, and avoiding all indiscriminate receptions, is supported both by reason and experience. The experience of above one hundred and seventy years, if not a longer time, has proved that the want of such an hospital on this spot, hath been attended with the most pernicious consequences to the community; and many reasons are obvious, though all of them have not existed in the same degree for the whole extent of time.

1st. Here are 147 parochial divisions, besides others of subjects not of the established church, all contiguous to each other.

2. Here is a collection of a great part of the misery, as well as the affluence, not of his Majesty's three kingdoms only, but of the whole British empire.

3. Here the manners of the common people are generally more vitiated than in other places.

4. Here it is the lot of many thousands to live in a more confined manner than the preservation of infant life will admit of.

5. Here is burnt a vast quantity of sea coal, the sulphureous effects of which are pregnant with infinite mischiefs to the tender strings of infant life, and particularly of such as are confined, as among the laboring poor.

6. Here

6. Here infants die in twice the proportion as in the greatest manufacturing towns, and at four times the rate of many villages in England.

7. Add to all this, the defects in parochial conduct, and a custom so universally prevailing of neglecting the preservation of the parish infant poor, the evil has reached to a most shameful and enormous height.

You and all the world will judge if it is not probable from facts, the most persuasive of all evidence, that if the institution of the Foundling Hospital had been confined to the bills of mortality, it might have been instrumental to the saving at least four or five hundred children annually, to be reared and ushered into life, being of the same class as those who for ages past have constantly perished. And if it is true that at this time they continue to perish, the simple question is—

Why this hospital is not brought back to the only true principle which ought to have been adhered to in the original formation of the institution? or why we should *not revert* to such principle, and rejoice that we have at length found a treasure, whatever the discovery may have cost. I have said that I do not mean to cut off any child from parental connections, where it can possibly be avoided; but to encourage parents to take their children again whenever there shall be any change of their situation to put them in a capacity to take a decent care of their own offspring.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Ability

To all appearance 63 per cent. being living, or near ~~two~~ *thirds*, instead of so many being dead, near half the number of such children will be preserved and brought to maturity, which is more than the common bills of mortality can produce, taking in the whole mass of inhabitants.

If children are conveyed in a tender and humane manner to the hospital, I am persuaded when they are there, the best nurses the price will admit of, will be procured: and if, when a child is weaned or reaches 12 months, a second child is entrusted to a woman, especially when she has any assistants about her, two half-crowns a week will be a sufficient object of encouragement to keep children alive.

You will judge, upon a comparison, what has been done by the parishes in question, at any period within the same number of years. Or go back, if you please, half a century, and upon the view of the account judge of the resistless evidence of the superiority which the hospital is entitled to, in the sense of the community, to whom the children belong. Judge you how long we are to go on squandering of lives. Judge you where it is we are to seek redress; or what methods we are to use to obtain it, if not by means of the Foundling Hospital?

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Matters

Matters under the Consideration of Parliament with regard to the Inconsistency of placing out Children to laboring People and mechanic Arts, beyond the Age of twenty-one.

L E T T E R XXXV.

WITH regard to the placing out children so early as *seven*, this can be hurtful only where *proper persons* are not to be found who *will take charge of them so young*. Were we to adopt the notion that it *must be done*, whether there be any parents or parental connections in the case or not, it would lead us out of our depth, and render it an act of cruelty. Nor is it material in the present question : these foundlings having been taken in at the rate of 3900 per annum, from June 1756, there are now a considerable number of *ten* and *eleven* years of age, whom it will be first necessary to get off.

But if the Governors of the Hospital can give satisfactory assurance to the *House*, that they have done, and continue to do in general, better for the children and the public, *without* such 'prentice fees than *with* them, I presume no fees will be given : otherwise, if the House doth not acquiesce in the opinion of the Governors, the Governors will conform to the decision of the House ; and if it is to be so, I hope they will concur *with a good grace* : their best policy will be to put the House in a good humor, that all past differences may be buried in

oblivion, and the further good proposed to be done, entered upon with fresh spirit and alacrity.

As to the *ffib* article, relating to the time of 'prenticeship, a notion hath gained credit with some, that a boy cannot obtain a settlement upon the act of the 43d Eliz. unless he serves till he is *twenty-four* years of age. This opinion is directly contrary to the principle of gaining settlements by *servitude*, after a year; and if it were really the case, it is necessary the act should be amended, it seeming less pernicious that a few should, in the vicissitudes of time, become *casual* poor, and trust to Providence for a support, than that a number should be tempted to violate the law; or be compelled to drag on a servitude till 24, in a business wherein they were adepts at 17; preventing marriage, discouraging industry, and laying the foundation of perpetual discord between master and 'prentice.

This hath long been the ordinary consequence of such tedious 'prenticeships; and the reason is plain. If we consider a carpenter, a mason, a blacksmith, a wheelwright, a baker, a taylor, a peruke-maker, or a husbandman, with an apprentice of 24 years old, in this forward age, it is a kind of contradiction to the dictates of common sense. And, if we come to the great bulwark of the nation, the coasting, or foreign commerce, to render a lad liable to be prest as a *man*, into the King's service, in time of war at 18; and at the same time, whilst he is subject to all the hazards of war, to work for his master, whose servant he is till 24; and who, upon producing his indenture is entitled to his *pay*. This is such an absurdity

as ~~fruits of benevolence and policy~~. Therefore, I hope this resolution will become a law for the foundlings; and, in proper time, for *all parish children*, who in general cannot be supposed to be placed out to businesses that require 12 or 14 years servitude. Things are now differently circumstanced than in the infancy of the Poor's Law. What was a *wise* measure at that time, may be a *foolish* one at this; and the continuance of old laws which are injurious, is, in effect, making new ones of the same nature. It will be easy to alter this part; and the resolution was intended with respect to the foundlings as a salutary measure.

The *custom* of such tedious 'prenticeships is adhered to, with this difference however, that although the indentures are made out till the age of 24, there is a further agreement annexed as an endorsement or appendage, that the master shall deliver up the indenture, or have the liberty of discharging the 'prentice at 21.

What an absurd construction is this, with regard to the sense and meaning of the Act of the 43d Eliz.!—Or what an absurd part of our laws which requires such quibbling and evasion, to accommodate ordinary occurrences to reason and common sense? If the placing out children till the age of 24 is absolutely required "by the law, to gain a settlement, is not this *evasion* illegal? And if the master is at liberty to part with the 'prentice at 21, is not the 'prentice also at liberty to part with the master? Or at what time may they legally part, and yet the 'prentice be secure of a settlement? I have seen a most able Counsel's opinion, in regard to the foundlings,
which

which declares, that although it *may be lawful* to place them out till they reach the age of 24, it is not therefore *unlawful* to place them till the age of 21 only. If there is any real difficulty in this affair, with regard to settlements, I should be glad to know the reason why it is not rectified.

This point being clearly ascertained, the business of apprenticeship would go on more smoothly : And what can, or what ought to be done for the foundlings or parish children in the country, Gentlemen of landed estates, especially such as have acted as magistrates or as guardians to the poor, can hardly fail of being as good judges as any other persons.

As to being put out a year sooner or later, it also appears to be most congruous with reason and experience, that in the country, children of ten or eleven, tho' it is a tender age, may be rendered of some service whilst they are further removed from temptations to evil than in great cities. Many parish children in London and Westminster are not placed out till they are thirteen or fourteen, but then the officers give but trifling sums with them. When they are sent out very young, masters are apt to treat them improperly ; and when they are kept long, their habits are more difficult to correct. Thus in every case a right judgment is necessary, and the happy medium is generally the best.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Further

Further Considerations concerning leaving the Hospitals, dependant on the Foundling Hospital, in the Hands of the Corporation.

LETTER XXXVI.

IN regard to the hospitals of *Ackworth* and *Shrewsbury* belonging to, and under the direction of the Foundling Hospital in London; it is a strong argument for leaving them in the hands of the Corporation, that in fact, we are yet young and unpractised in what manner to behave, so as to preserve the lives and educate any considerable number of orphans under *one* direction and government, as in the case before us. We are more ignorant and unpractised in the art of preserving infants in the parishes in question, under *many* directions; therefore we should not part with either of those hospitals, more than we should wantonly offend an ally whilst it was doubtful whether we should stand in need of his assistance.

At the same time I am not for giving hospital education such a distinguished preference as some contend for. Mankind are apt to contract corporation prejudices, and a fondness for their original conceits. If a child is known in his neighbourhood, and become an object of tenderness, as frequently happens in the least vitiated state of life, in the country, whether among mechanics or husbandmen, farmers, shop-keepers, or any sober laboring people; if these have few or no children of their own, or have put them into the world, and
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are in a decent condition, in such cases to remove an orphan from a place where there is a fair chance of gaining a parent, though it be a poor one, is defeating the kindness of Providence: it is impolitic, if not injurious to the child, and in the issue may be hurtful to the community. Were hospital education superior to what can be reasonably imagined, it gains no connections of this kind; and connections, tho' they sometimes produce evil, are the vital springs of human commerce.

Circumstances judiciously and impartially examined, must determine every case of this nature, and the rule of judging must be founded in the reason of things, which God in his wisdom has best directed. There are instances in which the *Peasant* approaches too near the state of a *Pauper*, so that it would be no kindness to the child or to the public, to trust him with such a person. In the case of the Foundlings, the bias seems to have been on the other side, and has occasioned the removals of several children to hospitals, who perhaps were in a better situation before.

In the mean while, some parishioners, and some parish officers, have occasionally objected to a laboring man's taking one of these children as an apprentice, from the possibility of his becoming a *pauper*. In the general view of good policy and humanity, this kind of conduct in the officer appears to be impolitic and inhuman, if not an arbitrary construction of law.

The rule of judging I apprehend to be, if a man or woman are earning their bread, comfortably, though by

the sweat of their brows ; if they have bred up children of their own : and if they may probably live so long as to see the child old enough to get his bread in any other service, in case of need. What more is necessary ? Tenderness is not to be indulged merely for its own sake ; but it seems to be impolitic if not absurd to remove such a child in such a situation to an hospital for education.

It is no less true, that there are many children whose nurses or connections are not situated as I have described, but are miserably poor, or worthless in character : in such circumstances the child should be removed to other nurses ; and if there are none good to be found, it may with the utmost propriety, be sent to an hospital for education : and in many cases it must come at last, as the only effectual method of withdrawing it into the world.

All the Foundlings in question are without parents, and we shall find the parish children left with the officers, are much in the same situation ; but, when placed in cottages and remote villages, it is sometimes difficult to provide any means of instruction ; in this view also, the having a few hospitals, as an asylum either for instructing or placing out children, may be of great utility.

There can be no *invariable rule* in this instance : but we generally find an *invariable opinion* adopted ; and where this happens to be the case, and men are once wrong, they remain so : whereas, if a man should *change* from a right opinion to a *wrong* one, as circumstances may

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affect

affect him, he has a very good chance of seeing his error, and returning again to the right.

In every case the country being the grand scene of health, agriculture and pasturage, the reason is very strong for sending all this distressed class of mankind thither, from great cities, and keeping them there as long, and as much as the freedom of the subject will admit. If in process of time they return to cities, vigorous in health, and principled in virtue, they may be able to stand the trials they must go through.

If it is urged that all the *Foundlings*, or in good time the *parish children*, should be placed out to laborious employments, or if they go to household service, and other occupations not generally understood under the denomination of *laborious*, which is often the case, the above argument holds equally strong. The truth is, we must put them out as the occasion offers, and where it can be done with the most safety and propriety.

But let us not lose sight of the common road of nature and domestic life. Great prudence and moderation are essential to such undertakings. We ought to carry this constantly in mind, that where children are left totally uncultivated in morals and religion, they will grow up, even in this christian civilized country, like noxious weeds in a garden. Therefore, to reject any means of promoting the cause of religion and civilization, and condemn that as pernicious in every case, which may be applied to a good use in some, exceeds the bounds of that equity and moderation which is essential to sound policy.

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There are many charitable institutions in this kingdom where young persons are congregated and brought up from an early time of life : yet I do not mean to argue from any such, because the children so educated are in general intended for higher employments than can be supposed will fall to the lot of the distressed children in question.

Experience is the great instructor of mankind, and till we have *discovered* how, and in what manner, we can provide most effectually for a class of our fellow subjects, who have been treated very unworthily, we must proceed with equal caution and candor.

At this advanced period, to speak of *discovery* in any kind of knowledge, may appear romantic ; but the fact is upon the most authentic record ; and the diversity of sentiments on the subject is a corroborating evidence, that we have not been acquainted, but by slow degrees, what we could do, and what ought further to be done, seems to be yet in the womb of time.

You cannot mistake that I mean, whether of Foundlings or others, to distinguish between children who are already in good hands, and may, with a little proper management, be sufficiently instructed and ushered into the world, and those who are destitute of such advantages. You will also see that with regard to Foundlings, this depends much on the zeal of inspectors of nurseries. On the other hand, I have granted it to be extremely weak and partial, to entertain a passion for the parade of an hospital. I think it injurious to congregate greater numbers in hospitals than is consistent

with the safety of childrens health. I insist on the necessity of being cautious, that the extreme of one opinion may not give occasion for an extreme on the contrary side. I am searching after truth and the paths of humanity and good policy : wherever we find it, I apprehend that difference in opinion, where numbers are to decide, can in itself produce no moral evil ; but discord, and opposition for opposition sake, or from dislikes among men, are diabolical.

My opinion is not for breeding up the children of the poor, shut up within the narrow compass of an hospital, in preference to the common methods in *sober life* ; although hospitals may be of eminent service to instruct children, and in some cases prevent great evils. Moreover, that although in the present view of things I might not be induced to *build*, but apply my thoughts and pecuniary abilities another way, yet I would use what I found ready prepared to my hand, in the whole, or in part, as necessity should dictate.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Considerations of Parliament in regard to the Labor and Earnings of Children, and their different kinds of Employment.

LETTER XXXVII.

I Shall think myself happy if any effort I am capable of, contributes to the removal of prejudices, and in any degree facilitates an agreement in sentiments of what

what is right and fit to be done on the part of the House of Commons, the parishes within the bills of mortality, and the Foundling Hospital. With such design I present you with this historical detail, with such comments as arise from the subject. After so much experience, it may be hoped our variety in sentiments will concur in one point. The object is but one, and the interest common to the whole community.

Among several articles, one, which fell under parliamentary consideration, though no *resolution* was taken upon it, was the *earnings* of the Foundlings by their work, as if they had not been properly employed, supposing them to be of the ages of 6, 7, 8 and 9 years. How much children of these ages may earn in some parts of the kingdom, where there are manufactures, in which young persons can be employed, and where there is no bread but what depends on their labor, I will not undertake to determine; I believe some in such circumstances do more than maintain themselves; but the case is different with children in hospitals, amply provided for.

The case is also different in regard to the governors of an hospital. These, tho' zealous for the public, it is not to be presumed can devote so much time to the encouraging and enforcing of this kind of industry, as to produce any great gains, especially in cities where there is much business and dissipation. The most that reason and experience hitherto afford a good foundation to expect, from the care taken by gentlemen, who have no private interest to serve, is, that children be kept

kept employed, and early habituated to industry; in order to be early recommended to masters who will treat them properly, and yet oblige them to work. What may be done hereafter more than this, I will not pretend to judge, because I know not who will do it.

The part of good governors is to see, in the first place, that the *lives* of children be preserved; next their *morals*; next their *health*, their *cleanliness*, their *food* and *raiment*, their habit of *industry*; and lastly their *gain*.

If the order is reversed, I am afraid but little good will be done. For supposing a child to earn half his bread, is it not a strong reason for getting him into the world, and easing the public *wholly* of the expense? And can this be done so effectually as by recommending the child in the several views mentioned, rather than saying "by his utmost exertion he can gain so much a day," which perhaps happened but one day in his life?

I have already observed that it seems necessary in many instances, towards placing children out in a proper manner, to congregate a considerable part of them in hospitals, in order to show them: and accordingly there is employment provided for them there, and they will improve as they grow up.

We have at this time an *order* subsisting for the Foundlings to be provided with tools accommodated to the strength of boys of 8, 9, or 10 years of age, that a part of their time may be employed in the garden; and a gardener directs their work.

We

We have a *taylor* to teach them to mend their own cloaths.

A *weaver* for the loom.

Mistresses for knitting, darning, spinning and sewing. Notwithstanding, the net produce of the work hitherto done has been but a trifle.

At the hospitals of *Lickworth* and *Shrewsbury*, some of their adjacent fields are, and others may be cultivated, and pasturage promoted, as practised in the charter or working schools in *Ireland*, as far as the strength and tender years of the children will admit. This lays a foundation of laborious industry. This is in some measure performed, and may be improved; but it would be dangerous to health, to exact such tasks as some sanguine persons may imagine such children capable of.

The Orphans or Foundlings, in those two hospitals, make a considerable quantity of woollen cloth, yet not such but that the materials, the implements, the masters, &c. take off a great part of the gain.

As to the more sedentary parts of useful occupation, such as darning, knitting, and weaving by boys; and darning, sewing, spinning and knitting by girls; there can be no doubt concerning the propriety of such employment, provided they do not sit so long at a time as to injure their health.

I apprehend that much application to the loom for very young persons, is hurtful to vigour of constitution; and so is every employment which is entirely sedentary; or where the air is rendered noisom; and where great numbers are congregated, this is often the case.

With respect to girls, the making and mending *all their own cloaths*, shoes excepted, tends very much to preserve a decent respect for their own persons, which has necessarily an influence on morals; and female orphans being evidently in most danger, should be guarded as much as possible at all points. This work they may learn more early than is generally imagined.

If this method were in common use in parishes and all schools of industry, we should see more labor, and less immorality, because there would be so much the higher sense of the duty which individuals so apparently owe to themselves; and consequently such profligacy, such complicated wretchedness of filth and rags, as we continually behold in our streets, would be so far prevented. Can a trifling *gain* for any thing made and sold, bear any comparison with these advantages?

The same holds in the degree for a boy as a girl; and the ability of making his own coat, is so portable, that he will never be encumbered with it, either as a soldier or a sailor, a mechanic, manufacturer or laborer, more than he is by being able to knit and darn his own stockings; or more than a gentleman is, who has a genius for mechanics, and works for his pleasure, as these may do from necessity, be their proper occupation what it will. When a boy has learnt to knit his stockings and to darn them, why should he not also learn to sew a seam, or patch a hole in his coat? If custom is pleaded for such omission of instruction, - of what is so right in itself, and so naturally productive of good, it may as well be pleaded in defence of real wickedness when it happens.

These

These advantages are actually acquired in a considerable degree in the hospitals in question. In the mean while the children learn to read, and the rudiments of religion and morality are taught, certain hours being appointed for labor, others for the book, and others for the more sedentary work abovementioned; so that without fatiguing the mind or injuring the health, they may be kept incessantly in action. It is the great secret of an able instructor to direct and vary tasks judiciously, so as to render them easy to a young person, and yet effectual to the end proposed.

I am, your's, &c. J. H.

The Propriety of retaining the several Hospitals of the Corporation, in their Hands, till it is seen what can be done.

L E T T E R XXXVIII.

IN this enquiry it is necessary to inform you, that the hospitals of *Ackworth* and *Shrewsbury* will not commodiously contain above one thousand children with the servants, reserving room for extraordinary accidents. There are many cases in which children should be removed to infirmaries, and sent out of the hospitals; and others in which their convalescence requires room in the hospitals, distinct from the other children. In the mean while, the crowding such hospitals, for the sake of parade, or upon the supposed necessity of accommodating as great numbers as possible, would, in its consequences, counteract the very end for which they were intended. If they produce all the good which the nature of them admits, and they prove a great relief in

cases of need, it cannot become disputable whether they are in general, and in their nature, good.

All the hospitals, viz. at London, Ackworth and Shrewsbury, which are the only buildings erected by the corporation; and at Chester, Westerham, Aylesbury and Barnet, which are old houses, will not contain above half the Foundlings living at this day; so that you see the necessity, where there are considerable numbers of children to provide for, to appoint more methods of education and maintenance than one; granting that it would be as absurd to think of confining the education of such poor children entirely to hospitals, as to reject hospitals as unworthy of attention. If one maintains that no education of poor, *out* of an hospital, is of any value; and another, that hospital education is the worst that *can* be given, I shall think both equally mistaken. In common life many things are expedient which are not therefore the best.

To rectify the mistakes which have been committed on all sides, and restore things to their first principles and the original good intentions of all parties, is the task I have undertaken. I believe several of the parish officers of 1766 or 1767, if they see no prospect of doing their work so well in their own parish, will think themselves happy to find a corporation which will take it off their hands; though they should pay for its being done in the most proper manner.

It is happy no law was enacted on the *resolution* I have mentioned; and as there has been so much noise

time to consider of it, we stand the fairer chance of obtaining the more salutary and effectual law.

To believe in a God, and to be a providentialist, is almost one and the same thing. It is obvious in the dispensations of Divine Providence, that good often arises out of evil, and that a greater good grows out of a lesser. I consider the bill brought into parliament, in relation to the F. H. as a happy event, supposing it will be a means of producing a right understanding of the subject, and of making it answer the best purposes.

The abuse of an institution under legislative direction, is no proof that it will be useless under proper regulations, by the same authority. The impolitic measure of the indiscriminate reception, was the result of too bold an effort of humanity. That the true object was mistaken, we must impute to human imperfection.

We now find three spacious edifices built and ready fitted to our hands, and it is probable they may be of great use, not only for the children which now inhabit them, but hereafter for the infant poor of the bills of mortality, or *some* of them, when they reach six years of age; and earlier than this, children should not be congregated in hospitals. For my own part, I think at present of no other than the children I plead for as proper objects. And if the hospitals are found *necessary*, or convenient for the use of such of our young fellow citizens, as are snatched from the jaws of the grave, it will be a happy circumstance. It will strike the spectators with joy and wonder, being in effect as a resurrection from the dead. Therefore I hum-

ably trust, that whatever injunctions may take place; no law will be made, which shall indicate as if the Hospital were incapable of any farther service to the public, beyond the mere placing out the foundlings now on hand. And in such case I am very much of opinion that the alienating these hospitals would wound the corporation, though it might not prove a grave to the hopes of preserving the infant poor in question.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

A Defence of Hospitals, how far they are useful for the Education of the Poor, particularly those at Ackworth and Shrewsbury.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

IF hospital education "hath a tendency to make children *less fit* for laborious employments," as agreeable to the resolutions of the House of Commons, yet supposing we can make them *useful*, the degree of the labor they may be enabled to perform, will depend on the trades to which they are apprenticed. Let us not condemn this mode of preserving children without a more attentive observation than any yet made on it.

With all its imperfections, let us *first* see what can be done *better* for children, before we abandon it; and this also can be known only by *trial*. The events of things seldom correspond exactly with our ideas of them. In the mean while, whatever determination is *not necessary*, is therefore *impolitic*.

If in the course of eight or ten years, a number of children should be accumulated by means of the corporation,

at

at the very moment that all the world approved, the Governors might find themselves distressed for want of the assistance of such hospitals.

If upon enquiry it should happen that some of the parishes in question should give good reasons for keeping their own children in their own hands, yet the numbers of children put in voluntarily by other parishes, and preserved by the corporation, might still render one or both of these hospitals very useful.

If after repeated trials it should be found that the corporation can do as well or better *without* the hospitals, than *with* them, it will then be the interest of the Governors, still acting on behalf of the poor, to dispose of such edifices as so many incumbrances.

If any Gentleman should entertain a jealousy lest these buildings should prove the occasion of our falling again into the practice of an *indiscriminate* reception, which has been so deservedly exploded, all I can say is, his fears seem to outrun his judgment: for this mistaken plan took place only in London, and can be carried on only by means of public money: and may we not as boldly pronounce that such money, for such a purpose, will not be granted, as that parliament will *not* build hospitals over the whole kingdom for foundlings, as was once intended?—For my own part, I have said that I do not entertain a thought of any *secret* reception, nor of any *open* one, except of the *distressed infant poor* belonging to the bills of mortality.

Let us not refine above measure. The parish infant poor, the tender objects of our researches, are valuable, and

and it is meant to preserve them: or they are *not* valuable, and need not be preserved. If they are valuable, we must consider which are the best means to effect their preservation. This must be done in the most easy manner to *those who undertake the charge*, as well as most for the *benefit of the public*. In the mean time the *parish manner here*, is for the most part a very bad one.

Let us farther consider, that if assistance in the country is essentially necessary to the end in view, it is also necessary to retain the members of the corporation, men of fortune and reputation, who live in the country, and will assist as *committees* with regard to the direction of the hospitals. This they will cheerfully do, associated with a corporation that is permanent, and will not do with parish officers who are changed annually.

Nor do I think it a matter of less importance, in this general view of the duty of humanity, to secure the correspondence already established in several parts of the kingdom, with persons of character and condition of both sexes, who have acted as *Inspectors of Nurseries*, whether it regard the life, or the instruction of children. Our resources are but few, let none of them be lost.

Let us carry this constantly in mind, that in these cities we are in a very singular distress. We have learnt from indubitable experience, that *Infants* require as much to be furnished with a regular supply of the necessities to support life, as *adults* and laboring persons who occasionally stand in need of the assistance of hospitals to set their broken limbs or cure violent diseases.

If

If we see things as they really are, whether we consider hospitals as calculated to mend *souls* or *bodies*, to promote industry, or advance knowledge; whilst they have been countenanced in this nation, we have become a great and formidable people.

The highest virtue is to be sought for, and I believe found in private domestic life. But it doth not follow but that public institutions often serve as props to the fabric of a state, which might otherwise moulder away, and in process of time tumble into ruins. For what can be a counterpoise for folly and iniquity, but the exercise of reason and the fear of God? Wherever these have been depressed, and in danger of losing their efficacy in private life, in proportion as they have been found again, and encouraged in public schools and seminaries of learning, they have proved, and in all ages have been considered, as blessings from heaven. And will it not depend on the manner of conducting the hospitals in question to render them substantial and permanent blessings?

The same cause will produce the same effect, and the reason holds as good in the degree for instructing the *poor* in what *they* ought to know, whether they learn it in private families, in public schools, or hospitals, as the *rich*, and those who must be bred to letters, and whatever is essential to good order and government in *their* stations.

Not is it of any great moment, if one should reason as if knowledge came by intuition; another, as if the poor or laboring part of mankind were but mere

beasts

beasts of burden; or a third, aspiring at an ideal perfection, declare his dissatisfaction at seeing the most momentous concerns of life executed so slovenly, that human reason is put out of countenance. These in their turn are apt to consider charity-schools, hospitals, and such places for instructing poor children, as nurseries of impudence and idleness. But when we take them and their rulers, with all their faults, and compare the children they educate, with the thousands who are ushered into the world without any instruction at all, rude, undisciplined and unprincipled, we shall then be compelled to cry out, *happy the land where every means of instruction abounds!* I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Regulations with respect to the Attention of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital to their Object.

L E T T E R XL.

THE conduct of the governors of the Foundling Hospital, and their attention constantly shewn to the preservation of the children, will appear very conspicuously from a view of some of their publications and regulations. You will soon discover by them, the different principle on which the parish officers have usually acted, and from what causes it has arisen, that the Hospital hath preserved so great a proportion beyond the parishes. The plan of the parochial officers, some few excepted, has been to show how they may most decently avoid all expences on account
of

of children who cannot complain, tho' they are so emphatically miserable beyond any other class of mankind.

First Publication for Admittance in 1741.

" The Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children, do hereby give notice,

That on next, the of at at night, and from that time until the house is full, their house over-against the charity-school in *Hatton-Garden*, will be opened for the reception of children, under the following regulations:

That no child exceeding the age of two months is to be taken in.

Nor any such as have the French-Pox, Evil, Leprosy, or disease of the like nature, whereby the health of other children may be endangered.

For the discovery whereof, every child is to be inspected as soon as it is brought to the *Hospital*, and the person who brings it, is to come in at the outward door, and ring the bell at the inward door, and not to go away till the child is returned or notice is given of its reception.

No questions whatsoever will be asked of any person who brings a child, nor shall any servant of the *Hospital* presume to endeavor to discover who such person is, on pain of being dismissed.

All persons who bring children on this occasion, are

X

desired

desired not to crowd the door, lest any child may be hurt thereby, as one only can be admitted at a time.

If any person whatsoever shall presume to ask or receive any money, for assisting or bringing forward one child before another, immediate notice is desired to be given thereof, that such person may be punished for his said offence.

When notice shall be affixed over the door, That the House is full, all persons having children not received, are to return with them, without dropping any by the way, on pain of being punished as the law directs.

If any particular marks, writing, or other thing, shall be left with a child, great care will be taken for the preservation thereof: and each child will be baptized according to the rites of the church of England, and by a minister of that church, if it does not appear to his satisfaction, that such child has been before baptized.

N. B. By act of parliament, no parish officer or other person whatsoever, shall stop, molest, or disturb any person bringing a child to the Hospital, or returning from the same: and every parish officer or other person, stopping, disturbing, or molesting any such person, shall forfeit the sum of forty shillings for every offence, half to the informer, and half to the Hospital."

Upon this, I remark the singularity of so liberal a permission, upon so slender a foundation.—And accordingly

ingly we soon find, that the mode of receiving was changed to drawing lots or balls; the white ball to be admitted, the black one rejected, and the red balls to supply the place of any child which might be found defective.

Form of a Receipt for a Child and the Clothes.

Received of the Governors and Guardians of exposed and deserted young children, a child, named together with

						<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
2	cheque linen cloths to pin before, at 6d.							
	each	—	—	—	—	0	1	0
3	caps, at 6d. each	—	—	—	—	0	1	6
3	shirts, at 9d. each	—	—	—	—	0	2	3
1	linsey coat	—	—	—	—	0	2	2

Which clothes I promise to deliver to the said Governors and Guardians, or allow the value of such of them as shall be lost, out of my wages, at the prices above-mentioned; and that the said child shall be maintained by me at the rate of a week, so long as the said Governors and Guardians shall think proper, in the parish of in the county of

Address to the Inspector of the Nursery on the same sheet.

“ The Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for exposed and deserted young children, do hereby desire your charitable inspection of the abovementioned child, and that you will pay the wages agreed for, by the said weekly, so long as the said child shall remain with her, deducting the value of such clothes as

she shall not produce to you : and in case of any misbehaviour of the said you are hereby empowered to remove the said child from her, and to place it out to any other nurse, giving immediate notice thereof to this Hospital. You are desired to take the nurses receipt for her weekly payment, on the back of this receipt : to correspond as often as possible with the said Governors and Guardians ; to account yearly ; and in case of the death of this child, to give immediate notice of the time thereof. You are also desired to return this receipt, together with the clothes (a) as soon as new clothing shall be sent to you, together with a new receipt, which you are to see signed by the nurse.

Signed by the SECRETARY.

N. B. When clothes are wanted, you are desired to specify the ages and sexes of the children who want them, and address your letter to the matron, who has the care of providing clothes for the Inspectors. No caps are allowed for boys after the first year. Shoes and stockings are to be furnished in the country by the Inspectors.

In case this child should have either the Measles or the Small-Pox, you will please to give me immediate notice thereof, that the Governors may not inadvertently order it to be inoculated for the Small-Pox."

The receipts were endorsed on this instrument, viz.
17 Received for four weeks wages due this day.

(a) This was done, and it turned to very good account, in making the nurses careful of the clothing.

Form

*Form of an Acknowledgment of the Inspector's Accounts
being just.*

“ Your account, as Inspector of the children of this hospital at _____ from the _____ of 176 to the _____ of 176 having been examined, and appearing to be just; and the ballance which you made due to _____ therein amounting to _____ being found right; I am ordered by the committee for transacting the affairs of the said hospital, to notify the same to you, and to thank you for your charitable care of the poor children, and beg the continuance of your kind help.”

Signed by the SECRETARY.

*An Invitation to Persons of Distinction and others to take
the Charge of Inspectors.*

“ The powerful protection given to this hospital by the legislature, has rendered it an object of very great importance to the nation. Eighty or ninety children are now received every week, and the number increases. The plan being thus enlarged, and promising the highest advantages to the whole community, the assistance of every governor of the hospital is become indispensably necessary.

In this situation, the general court beg that you will add to the munificence you have already shewn, such marks of your benevolence as the very essence of this charity consists in.

You

Recommendation to Inspectors in regard to the Care of Children.

“ The Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted *young children*, in order to prevent any impositions on the charity, by women who pretend to be sent by the Inspectors to receive nursed children at the Hospital, although they are strangers to such Inspector, *have resolved,*

That no nurse shall have a child of this Hospital committed to her care, unless she brings a certificate from an Inspector, that she is sent by such Inspector, and that she is a proper person to be trusted with the care of such child. And to prevent trouble to the Inspector, they have caused printed certificates to be sent to each of the Inspectors, to be filled up and signed in the same manner as the specimen annexed. And you are desired to send as many wet nurses as you find proper to be trusted with the care of children, giving to each nurse a certificate so filled up and signed. And in case of your absence, if you shall think it proper to entrust any other person with the care of sending nurses to the Hospital, that you will give them a sufficient number of blank certificates, signed by yourself, to be filled up by such person as you so entrust.

And the Governors having thought it for the welfare of the public, not to give all nurses as many children as they shall require; therefore when *two children* have *died* in the hands of the *same nurse*, within *twelve* months,

months; if you think proper that such nurse may be still trusted with a third child, you are desired to inform the Secretary in writing of the particular reasons for such request; that, on the one side, the Hospital may not lose a good nurse, by being too scrupulous, nor countenance a bad one for want of attention.

And note that as there are few children sent to this Hospital, who are weaned, it is desired, that no dry nurses shall be sent to the Hospital, but when wrote for by me as Secretary to the Hospital: but if you have any good dry nurses whom you would recommend, you will send their names and places of abode to me, that they may be sent for when they are wanted.

Signed by the SECRETARY.

P. S. The Committee have directed, That a premium of ten shillings shall be paid by any Inspector to a nurse, who after the first of June, 1756, shall have received and brought up a child of this Hospital for the space of one year. But no such premium is to be allowed proportionably for any less time, or for any year after the first."

Upon this I remark, that in a small number of children the difficulties herein mentioned can hardly happen; but in a great number they can hardly be avoided.

Publication in regard to the ragged naked Condition in which some Children were brought.

" Whereas many children, who have been brought to this Hospital, were almost-naked, and have appeared

to have violent colds, and other distempers, supposed to have been contracted for want of proper clothing; and it being suspected, that such children have been stripped of their clothing by the persons who have been intrusted to bring them to the Hospital: *This is to give notice,* That any person who shall be detected in stripping any such child or children of their clothing, or any part thereof, shall be prosecuted at the expence of this Corporation with the utmost severity."

Signed by the SECRETARY.

Here I observe, that when children are sent openly by the parish officer's command, and under his direction, the abuse complained of may be easily avoided: and it is not to be presumed that the officers themselves will be guilty of so mean a trick as to rob an infant.

Advertisement in regard to the Abuse of the indiscriminate Reception declared in 1759.

"Whereas it appears to the Governors and Guardians of this Hospital, that some children have been forcibly and fraudulently taken and brought away and sent to this Hospital, by persons who are under prosecution for the same; it is resolved, That upon application, and due proof made to the general Committee, any person who has had, or shall have, any child taken from them by force or fraud, and sent to this Hospital, shall have the same restored; and such assistance in bringing the offenders to justice, as shall be reasonable, and according to law."

Signed by the SECRETARY.

I was

I was a witness in two or three prosecutions for violences committed with a view to exonerate the parish. This serves as a corroborating proof of the necessity of taking charge of such children, at least within the bills of mortality, as are subject to be hunted to death for the sake of avoiding an expence to the parish. This cannot happen upon the plan proposed, as there will be a sufficient number of children to complete the 800, leaving parents to cherish their own infants.

Petition for the Recovery of a Child.

“ To the general Committee of the Hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children.

The humble petition of
Sheweth,

That your petitioner

is the of a child, delivered and received
into this Hospital, on the day of 17
by the name of

Your petitioner therefore most humbly prays, that if the said child is alive under your care, you will please to order that the same be delivered to your petitioner.

London, the day of

Upon this I am to remark, if any difficulty occurs upon the plan proposed, the parish officers of the parish to which the woman belongs, must be consulted.

Remarks made at the Foot of the annual Accounts.

“ About the age of five years, all the children who have not had the small-pox in the natural way, are inoculated.

The objects relieved in other Hospitals, are soon returned to the community, by the frequency of the discharge of them ; whereas abandoned infants preserved to the nation by this charity, must remain a charge and expence to the Hospital, until they are of a sufficient age to be placed out. But in process of time, a succession of children being put out to useful employments, will render the good effects of this Hospital conspicuous.

The boys of this Hospital are apprenticed out to people of good character, in all useful businesses ; and the girls to trades, and also as servants ; and in the mean time they are employed in making of flannel, woollen cloth, in spinning, knitting, darning, and other useful employments.

As the sums of money granted by parliament, are applied towards the maintenance of the children *only*, (a) the great and useful purposes of this charity cannot be executed, without the assistance of charitable and well disposed persons (b).

A subscription roll of donations to this Hospital, to take place after the decease of the donors, is in the keeping of the Steward of the Hospital, in Lamb's Conduit-Fields (c), as also a book for annual subscription.

Benefactions are received by Taylor White, Esq; the Treasurer, at the Hospital ; the Bank of England ;

(a) This remark relates to the time after March, 1760.

(b) Upon the plan now proposed, the revenue will be certain.

(c) I know not of any effect this has had, except in the beginning of this institution ; nor of any effect it can have, unless expressly provided for by *will*.

Messrs.

Messrs. Darell and Co. in Pall-mall ; Messrs. Child and Co. at Temple-bar ; Messrs. Drummond, at Charing-cross ; Sir Joseph and Sir Thomas Hankey, in Fenchurch-street ; Messrs. Fuller and Co. in Birch-in-lane ; Messrs. Hoare's, in Fleet-street ; and Messrs. Stone, Martin, and Blackwell, in Lombard-street.

N. B. Benefactions by will in *England*, can only be of personal estate, such as money, stocks, annuities, or other public funds, or securities, &c. and may be given in the following manner, to wit :

I give and bequeath to the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital, for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children the sum of

Any personal estate whatsoever is also a good gift, and cannot be set aside ; but if any directions to lay out the money (or other things given) in land, is added to the bequest, it makes it void.

N. B. The statute intituled, *An Act for preventing the improvident disposition of lands, whereby they may become unalienable*, commonly called, *The Statute of Mortmain*, extends only to *England*, but not to any of his Majesty's plantations in *America*."

Upon a whole view of these instruments, I hope it will be the more satisfactory to you, when you consider that children in the hands of persons whose sole object and ambition, respecting the institution, is to preserve the life, must operate diametrically opposite to any parochial officer, whose primary object has been to prevent the expence.

Directions

A *glister* of equally good ingredients, and more easily procured, ought to be more esteemed; though it must be observed, that the Inspectors in the neighborhoods have been often induced to succor the distressed child with great attention and benevolence.

Glisters being confessedly of great use in the diseases of young children, as gripes and purging are most easily and successfully relieved by them, it is necessary to mention such as may be most easily come at; and which at the same time are recommended by an ingenious physician.

Eight or ten spoonfulls of warm broth of any kind, without salt, given as a glister, so warm as not to give pain, is the most simple, and may be given several times a day, if the child is griped.

If after giving two or three broth glisters, the purging continues, let the quantity of a hazle-nut, more or less, according to the age, of *diascordium* be dissolved in four table-spoonfulls of broth, and be given immediately after a stool, at bed-time.

This is the most simple and efficacious, but should not be made use of till the bowels are a little cleansed by repeated broth-glisters.

Chicken's guts boiled; and the liquor given as a glister, in these cases, is a favorite medicine with most people; but broth made of any fresh meat is as proper, and much cheaper.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

The

*The State of Infant Poor, in regard to the high Abuse of the
antient Poor's Law, and the Duty of Parochial Officers.*

L E T T E R XLI.

SEEING that the world is governed so much by passion and prejudice, and so little by solid reason, and discourse, and that the practices of men so often clash with their principles and the precepts of their religion, all wonder ceases. But still we stand bound to follow where *reason* and *experience* guide; and it may be hoped if we obey the impulse of our better judgment, we shall not deviate far.

I plead for the Foundling Hospital, or as it may be hereafter with more propriety named, the *Orphan Hospital*. I see imperfections in it, but upon a comparison with the parishes within the bills of mortality, respecting the preservation of the lives of infants, and the education of them, it has a distinguished merit; and therefore I conclude that it would be an eternal blot in our annals to throw by this institution, and leave these parishes as we now find them: and how the distressed infant can be relieved by means of any other institution, I do not comprehend.

Every period seems to enjoy particular advantages, and to suffer peculiar inconveniences. It is now 1100 years since England was divided into parishes, of which there are near 10000. But the Poor's law is of no earlier date than the 43d of Eliz. In the days of this Monarch

we were brave and politic, and so we are at this time. We have more knowledge and more riches, but we were then more in a state of primæval simplicity. As we have grown up to the meridian of our strength, the morbid humours, without which no political body exists, have operated in some measure like the seeds of mortality in the human frame. We are therefore to endeavor, by a proper regimen, and the goodness of Divine Providence, to rejuvenate and take a new lease of national life; and above all to take care of our *children*, who are the essence of our existence.

In regard to the manner of treating infants, those who have a pecuniary interest in the exercise of an annual authority over poor children have this reason for their conduct; but what can such interest be that is not injurious to the child? Lenient measures seem to be best adapted to our genius; and justice and mercy must be exercised towards all persons; but on our present plan we sacrifice both to a kind of superstitious reverence for a law *that is abused*; so that in fact the reverence is for the *abuse* of the law, not the *law itself*.

The makers of the Poor's law must have supposed that men of leisure and fortune would be employed in the execution of it. And let who will perform the executive part, they ought to give account of the *lands* belonging to the public, as well as of the *money* belonging to it; and answer for the care of an infant, as a husband for his wife, or a father for his son. When wives are treated in the manner the infant poor are, the law relieves *them*, and punishes *offenders*. Power over
life

life in the hands of *individuals* is reserved for governments where tyranny reigns, surrounded with all its banners, not in this *free country*.

That no provision is made for any kind of punishment, let the conduct of an Officer towards an infant be ever so offensive to humanity, is not strange. Acts of violence are punished; but though negligence should operate exactly in the same manner, I never heard of any penalty being affixed to it — in this case.

Queen Elizabeth and her able Ministers had no conception of barbarity towards infants, nor dreamt of such false parsimony as to save other people's money, to alienate from a child the necessary means of his support. As the Poor's law has so fully provided for this end, by virtue of one of the most plain, christian-like, and well digested plans that was ever conceived in the heart of a Prince, or a subject, for the preservation of its objects, could any thing of this kind be suspected?

It is too obvious that the very aliment which the God of Nature has provided for the support of our lives, may, by a careless and irrational use, become our poison, yet no law is made to punish people for excess.

It was certainly intended that every parish should be of the nature of a *foundling hospital*, with respect to its own distressed infant poor, as well as adults: and if the officers appointed by the law had always fully answered the end and design of their election, and acted agreeably to the power vested in them, there could be no distress which would not find immediate relief; but this is so far from being the case, and especially within the bills of

mortality, that a long course of experience has proved an hospital to be indispensibly necessary to supply the defect. The officers themselves were of this opinion, or they would not have conveyed all their infant poor to Lambs-Conduit-fields in June 1756, and continued to do so till March 1760 : but then they *paid nothing* for it out of their parish rates. Will there be any sudden change of sentiments, as to the utility of the design, if they should be obliged to pay for it? Will that which was extremely proper ten years since, be now extremely improper? If it is, they will give their reasons why.

This cannot be deemed as a tax on the parish, any otherwise than as a nurse's pay is a tax ; only that this is a certain annual sum, and the other a weekly sum : the last ceases with the life of the child, the former may happen to be more or less than the real charge created by several children, but probably will in most cases be *less* than the real charge.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Further Thoughts on the Poor's Law, and the Necessity of confining the Law and present Object to the Infant Poor.

L E T T E R XLII.

EVERY man having his favorite passion and inclination, in his politics, as well as his affections, it is more than probable that as soon as any *motion* shall be made for bringing in a bill for the better preservation of the infant parish poor within the bills of mortality,

the

the consideration of the poor's law in general will be introduced ; but it is apparent that if we attempt *much* at a time, we shall soon find ourselves bewildered and do *nothing*. It is not very difficult to investigate the object before us, and to correct the abuse which has so long prevailed as a *local evil* ; but to rectify every circumstance which may be found amiss in the poor's law in general over the kingdom, will require much time, and ought not to be attempted but in detail. This in question may be considered as a part, and a more interesting part than any other, as so immediately including the destruction or preservation of the human species.

The 43d of Eliz. is confessedly a good law ; but the executive part of it, with respect to the objects in question, is extremely warped and out of shape. Tho' it is thus become very defective by time, it is so admirably contrived for the support of *internal police*, and the preservation of the common people, that upon the comparison with all other countries that I have lived in, I am inclined to believe we owe a considerable part of our present importance to it ; but we shall not continue much in debt to it, if we do not endeavor to render it a means to preserve *infant poor*, and breed them up properly.

The law itself is, I say, admirably contrived to support the indigent under every circumstance of distress ; and were it not for the *dissoluteness of manners* which prevails, it would be astonishing that it should operate against infants ; and that the abuse of it should predominate in the seat of empire under the eye of the great courts
of

of justice ; and in a place where the several parishes are so contiguous, and might so easily assist and instruct each other. And if it is considered what vast sums are raised in them as a rate for the benefit of the poor, not less than 120,000 l. per ann. it is still the more amazing that any *infant* poor should perish for want.

I do not pretend to say that no part of the evil complained of, hath any existence any where out of London and Westminster : It is enough for our present purpose that there are heavy complaints *in these cities*, and that many perish for want, in the midst of the plenty which the humanity of our laws has provided ; which the genius of the nation so *naturally* subscribes to ; and which the conduct of the parish officer so *unnaturally* defeats.

Change of *times* and *manners* may render the poor's law *defective*, but there is more reason to complain of the *abuse* of it. Some persons whom providence has brought from the place of their nativity, are harassed and driven from a parish not only where they *are*, but where it is feared they *will become* burthensome. Under a notion of adhering to law and good policy, we trespass against common sense and humanity, is not against the rights of subjects. Instead of considering how to furnish employment to enrich the place where the *casual* real poor are found, we act as if industry were the means of poverty. We send them *home*, as we term it, whether any employment can be found for them or not ; and the sooner if they have any children with them ; so that the children are exposed as emigrants ; and perhaps it is this that multiplies the

the numbers of our *rustic beggars*, who are in some parts very numerous and very mischievous to society, as being bred up in the mysteries of beggary and rapine.

These are evils wherever they exist; but we shall hardly remedy them by any general complaint, and surely not by mixing things together which in their nature are distinct; therefore I hope we shall not hurt the present *cause* of the infant poor by insisting on too much.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

*The Importance of preserving the Infant Poor, as the Source of
Opulency and Defence.*

LETTER XLIII.

ONE would not imagine it should ever become necessary to plead for children, the only proper mode of preserving them is so obvious: but it is easy to conceive how, in process of time, relaxation of discipline takes place. We are much richer than we were, but we have also greater numbers of *poor* to partake of our riches; and we live too high in respect to our wealth. This creates jealousy and alarms in relation to expences; and we must not be surprized if it should sometimes superinduce an erroneous construction of the spirit of the law, and occasion some acts of severity to *grown persons*. But how barbarity of any kind ever came to be extended to *infants*, will be as wonderful in *our* annals, so far as the object extends, as the folly and ambition of that prince who made war with

with the Messiah in his infant state of life, in contempt of the decrees of Heaven.

Infants being at the breast of the mother, or the nurse, are happily, for the most part, *at home*, or near it. When by accident they are at a distance, as in the case of *soldiers* or *sailors* wives, and followers, they challenge a peculiar indulgence. And it is with the greatest pleasure I learn, that the object of *soldiers* children, generally in as wretched a state as parish infants, is taken up by gentlemen of the army and others, who incline to show at once their gratitude to our brave countrymen, and their affection to their country. In no case ought an infant to be left in distress, whilst there is a mother or a nurse to be had for *money*.

In all civilized states, whether they are commercial countries or not, children are looked upon as *riches*. The people who were under the immediate sovereignty of the great Lord of the universe, in the first ages of the world, reckoned their children first, and next their flocks and their herds, and this was all the riches they had any idea of. The truth is, they are *our greatest wealth*; for without them we should not be secure of any opulency, defence, or existence. And therefore to guard and defend them, in their infant state, and take cognizance of all that concerns them, is so essential a duty, that it is in effect *guarding* and defending ourselves.

In a country so free as this, so deeply engaged in commerce, and so often involved in war, there will be chasms remain to be filled up, which no law can effectually

effectually provide for. These will be the subject of that policy and humanity in the breast of individuals which constitutes a great part of the idea of liberty and religion. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that a people can remain *free*, for any length of time, but as their *genius*, their *turn of mind* and *manners*, co-operate with their laws and their religion; and as both these lead them to succour distresses among their fellow subjects.

Men not acting upon *principle* with regard to law, but only from fear of punishment, will offend whenever they can do it with impunity. The first law is humanity. If the strong ties of parental affection lose their hold, in the service of those who have no other parent than the *public*, it seems to be such a defection from natural and political justice, which comprehends true *patriotism*, that it prepares the mind for any servility which tyranny can impose; whereas the true spirit of liberty will carry a man to throw himself into the arms of death, to prevent injustice to a fellow subject. I am attempting to discover an Asylum for distressed infants: I produce proof of the distress; I produce proof of the relief which can be given them. I hope it will please Heaven to suffer them to enjoy it, and us to reap the benefit of their preservation.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

*Proposal for the Relief of the Infant Poor on the most easy and
effectual Plan.*

L E T T E R XLIV.

IT is an object much to be wished, that the parishes would do the duty effectually; but as matters stand, I consider the *Orphan Hospital*, for so I will call it, as the chief instrument, in the hands of providence, for preserving the infant poor of the bills of mortality. I have endeavored to recover the reputation of it, with regard to the mistaken measure of the *indiscriminate* reception. I have supposed that the hospitals in *Arkworth* and *Shrewsbury* might also be so well conducted as to be very beneficial, and render children useful, granting that living within walls, tho' in a very airy situation, is different from being early inured to the labors of the field.—I have therefore endeavored to digest a plan, such as may be coercive, but leaving an alternative, either to follow a certain mode prescribed, in the management of infants, and in the expence bestowed on them, or to send them to the *Orphan Hospital*; with hopes that the parishes will chuse the latter, as the only safe or the most efficacious method, tho' the former may be most worthy of imitation, if any one can imagine a general good example of this kind to arise from these cities.

If I remember right, Mr. Locke says, the thirst of dominion is the first passion that invades the human breast. And we often see the *child* and the *man* equally impatient of controul. It is generally a hard lesson to re-

linguish power, even when we know not what to do with it. Yet power in general, when exercised for the immediate preservation of mankind in the highest offices, is but a more heroic solicitude, a more exalted labor. In every station it is apt to intoxicate little minds, but can never injure great ones, which see the world, and all that is in it, as a fleeting object to them.

If the business before us, can be brought under such a law and regulation as will produce the end and design in view, it is of very little moment to us as a nation, and none at all to me, who it is that performs the task. It cannot be expected that every one should have it in his power to devote any large portion of his time to such purposes, *without* any other emolument than the love of *praise*, or what is better, the love of *doing well*.

The method which usually occurs first to the thinking world on this subject, is to appropriate a certain portion of the parish poor rates within the bills of mortality, to be paid annually into the hands of the Governors of the Hospital, in order to enable them to receive all the infant poor. Upon which I observe:

1. That in such case, no officer would fail to send to the Hospital all the infant poor of his parish, and sometimes others of other parishes, which could not be discovered.

2. The ascertaining of the sum to be paid by each parish, upon the force of which the Governors could prudently engage to take *all* the children who might be sent to them, would be hard to regulate.

Proposed

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3. This

3. This method would be subject to abuse, by the officer sending children belonging to the parishioners; such as, though in a degree of poverty, ought not to be sent, and which would not otherwise become the objects of the parish rates.

4. The danger of the officers receiving children from other parts of the kingdom, and yet sending them to the hospital as their proper infant parish poor.

To guard against such consequences, the following rules may be observed:

1. Let the quota of children to be sent by each parish be fixed. If by this regulation any children, over and above the stipulated number, remain on the hands of the parish officers, such as shall appear to them, or upon application to a *magistrate*, to have a good title to relief, they to take care of such supernumeraries at the particular charge of the parish, putting them out to nurse in the county on the parish account, in the manner hereafter described.

2. If the hospital should receive private donations as formerly, to which it would have a good title, in such case it might receive some foundlings or casual children as supernumeraries, though above the quota agreed for when coming through the hands of the parish officers; but as this seems to be a precarious expectation, and might be construed into nothing more than relieving parishes, who can by authority relieve themselves, it must not be depended upon. For which reason, if any supernumeraries are sent to the hospital, a separate

pay for them must be made adequate to the charge of supporting them.

3. In any case the sum paid must increase annually, as the children remain alive, and as the number increased, at least for the *first ten years*; then the whole annual cost, with the assistance the Hospital enjoys, might become nearly equal.

4. The number which each parish may send, be it of 800 or any other number, may be easily estimated by the number such parishes respectively have usually received annually of such infants: and if they have more than their quota on their hands, they must take care of them. If they have less than their number, in one year, they may have the liberty of making it up in the next or subsequent years. But if the whole number is set so low as 800, there can be no doubt of each parish finding a sufficient number to send.—The present object of most parishes is, to exonerate themselves as quickly as possible, which, however prudent in one view, necessarily brings on the very pernicious consequences now complained of.

5. If a number of children is fixed on, and each parish pays a certain sum, according to its quota of children, either in one, two, three, or four payments in a year, it will be the most simple and the most easily executed plan; for the hospital will be freed from the trouble of producing any other than annual accounts, as usual, that the public may see what it has done.

6. If the Hospital should be in want of money, on account of the expence created by an *increased proportion*

of

of justice ; and in a place where the several parishes are so contiguous, and might so easily assist and instruct each other. And if it is considered what vast sums are raised in them as a rate for the benefit of the poor, not less than 120,000 l. per ann. it is still the more amazing that any *infant* poor should perish for want.

I do not pretend to say that no part of the evil complained of, hath any existence any where out of London and Westminster : It is enough for our present purpose that there are heavy complaints in *these cities*, and that many perish for want, in the midst of the plenty which the humanity of our laws has provided ; which the genius of the nation so *naturally* subscribes to ; and which the conduct of the parish officer so *unnaturally* defeats.

Change of *times* and *manners* may render the poor's law *defective*, but there is more reason to complain of the *abuse* of it. Some persons whom providence has brought from the place of their nativity, are harassed and driven from a parish not only where they *are*, but where it is feared they *will become* burthensome. Under a notion of adhering to law and good policy, we trespass against common sense and humanity, if not against the rights of subjects. Instead of considering how to furnish employment to enrich the place where the *casual* real poor are found, we act as if industry were the means of poverty. We send them *home*, as we term it, whether any employment can be found for them or not ; and the sooner if they have any children with them ; so that the children are exposed as emigrants ; and perhaps it is this that multiplies

the parishes are undoubtedly able to pay for the support of their own infant poor, in the most effectual manner; and some to assist others, by a junction of parishes, as is already practised in many instances; and I apprehend it will be necessary in some.

This plan is calculated for recovering and preserving the reputation of *these cities*, in an instance which you are sensible hath long operated in a manner diametrically contrary to our national interest and character. If at length the present parochial officers are convinced of the necessity of some new regulation, on behalf of the infant poor in question, and if many of them will further the design, and others will not show a repugnance to a reasonable permanent plan for the relief of the most distressed part of their poor fellow creatures and fellow citizens, they will do honor to themselves.

The *abstracts* of the registers of the said infant poor, from June 1762 to December 1765, inclusive, were ordered by the House of Commons at the close of last sessions to be prepared; they have been produced, and a resolution taken to refer the consideration of the state of the infant poor to a committee, agreeable to the spirit of the act by which the registers are kept: and it is probable, humanity will plead so forcibly for these children, that some means or other, whereby the evil may be effectually remedied, will be at length discovered.

I believe I have told you that the act was at first called, by the common people, *an act for keeping children alive*; and presumed to have been considered by parliament as a preparatory step to a clear investigation, of the

the subject, and to be hoped that as far as human prudence extends, such a further regulation will be built on it, as shall actually preserve many hundred lives annually.

The proposal I now make, is formed on the principle of making a proper use of the *Orphan*, no longer *Foundling Hospital*. For whether from close and unhealthy situations for children ; from evil customs, which men are so subject to submit to ; from false parsimony, and great relaxation of discipline, to which parochial officers have been led by the example of their predecessors ; from their having the mixed charge of *adults* as well as *infants* ; or other causes, joined to the constant annual change of men in office, and oftentimes of measures, you and all the world confess, that a great devastation of infant life hath ensued.

The Hospital, in its *first* efforts, should have been appropriated to this very purpose and no other. As it was, for 15 years it produced but *little good*, because it was on so contracted a scale. In the *second* trial, for near four years it generated *many evils*, because it received infants *indiscriminately*. The true medium and real proper use of the institution being now apparent, with regard to the infant poor in question, if a trial should be made, though it were with the parishes only, where most children die, it could not fail of accomplishing the end in view.

There is much reason to complain of the neglect of marriage, but this most evidently depends on *individuals*, whilst the children of the *public*, which these in question may with the greatest propriety be deemed, are in the *public hands*, agreeable to the rules of parishes, and without the

the least violation of the rights of parents. Besides, these may at any time receive their children again, in case they are able to keep them, the same of the Hospital as of the parishes. And if women come to lie-in, or with their own children at the breast, the parish will still be the proper place for their temporary relief.

It is not less evident, that these cities take the lead with regard to all other places in the kingdom; and, although we seem to be in the most distress here, the case is very bad in some other cities and towns. This doth not appear to be so much *an age of population* any where, but that it will be happy if we can recruit our losses in the two last wars, in few years.

The parochial system is the public plan, so far as it is found to be good: but the present proposal restrains no parish, it only means to preserve children. It would be absurd to suppose that the parishes may not agree, or contract with the Hospital, as they often do with private persons, to take charge of their children.

It is not to be conceived but that there will be a very striking difference between parish and parish: but supposing that we have a true account of the infant poor, the table of the rates of their mortality in 1765, which I send you, will convince you of the necessity of some remedy, on every motive that is politic or sacred. And if the Hospital can, with any new powers, answer this purpose, it is our interest to make use of it.

I am yours, &c. J. H.

Computation of the Numbers which may probably be preserved by the Hospital, and a Table of Rates of Mortality.

LETTER XLVI.

IT is the chief part of wisdom, when we cannot accomplish a greater good, to be contented with a lesser. The circumstances of these cities being so singular, we ought to wish that a more ample succor was afforded our infant poor. What was, and continues to be, the meaning of the Hospital, may still be carried into execution. But perhaps it may be proper, on this occasion, to recommend the example of Solon to the Athenians, who says, “he gave them not the best laws that could be given, but the best they were capable of receiving.” I dare say, when the parish officers are called upon, many will be candid in their accounts of things, and express their real hopes and fears. The gentlemen now in office, as far as I know, may be as wise as serpents, and as innocent as doves; but as they are not responsible for their predecessors, neither can they answer for the good conduct of those who may succeed them.

The following computation is founded upon this leading secure principle, that if the parishes were to pay so much money, they would not fail to send as many children as they have a title to send, as soon as the said children came to hand: and consequently such a certain number would have the same fair chance of living as the Foundlings, and their *own parish infants* had, in 1756 to

1759, when they sent all, or the most part of them, to the Hospital at the *public expence*.

Years.	Number of Children sent.	Computed Number preserved.	Rate per cent. preserved.	Amount at 7l. 10s.		
				£.	s.	d.
1767	800	540	67½	4050	0	0
1768	1600	999	62½	7492	10	0
1769	2400	1430	59½	10725	0	0
1770	3200	1841	57½	13807	10	0
1771	4000	2237	56	16777	10	0
1772	4800	2626	54½	19695	0	0
1773	5600	3009	53½	22567	0	0
1774	6400	3387	52½	25402	10	0
1775	7200	3762	52½	28215	0	0
1776	8000	4134	51½	31005	0	0

You will observe the price for nursing is the same as hath been experienced by the Hospital to be barely sufficient to answer the necessary expences, to do common justice to the children, viz. 7l. 10s.

The computation is made on the bills of mortality on a medium from 1731 to 1761, computed on the whole mortality (a) at 25 per cent. to which is added 10 per cent. more deaths on the remaining 600, so that in the first year 800 may be sent, and only 540 are paid for.

The 1st year on 800 in the *table* amount to £. 4050

2d on 3900 received at the F. H. was — 30000

3d — 800 as in the *table*, annually — 10725

3d on 3900 received at the F. H. — 40000

4th — 800 as in the *table*, annually — 13807

4th on 3900 received at the F. H. — 50000

(a) On the whole burials, it is 25 the first year, and 11 per cent. the second year. On the burials of infants only, set against the christenings, under 2 years old, it will then be near 57 per cent.

To shew how much the above computation exceeds the real expence now actually bestowed on poor infants :

The 4th year, on the *table* is, — £.13,807 10 0
 But by the parish *registers*, in 1765, (being the 4th year of the register), it doth not appear that there hath been really expended on the *infant poor*, contained in the register, full — — — — 3000 0 0

It is very apparent, that this remarkable difference in the charge, or expence, is the chief cause of the great devastation of human life in the persons of these infants.

It was computed at the Hospital, that in case they had continued taking in children, the grants would have amounted to 100,000*l.* per annum, and stopt at this sum ; and considering how the proportion of mortality encreased on the number of 3900, year upon year, I apprehend it might have stopt at 100,000*l.* It is very remarkable that this kind of misery should keep such an equal pace as 3900 for near four successive years.

But the number of 800, received fairly and above-board, knowing whose and what children they are, I consider, in regard to *savings*, as more than one fourth part of 3900, taken blindly and indiscriminately.

If the number of children claimed by parents and friends, after they are past the dangerous part of life, should be greater than under the secret reception ; the Hospital will have some savings, and be the better enabled, on this account also, to exert itself, *to put out children,*

children properly, and yet not run up the expence beyond the computation.

If the children born within the bills of mortality, and brought to the parish officer, are less healthy than the generality of infants within the bills, more of them will of course die ; but this will be seen by the event.

That some are born of diseased mothers, I grant ; but, whilst so little care is taken of these children, I cannot rest any faith on such reasons, having seen fully displayed all the misery of these parishes when the same class of children were conveyed to Lamb's Conduit-fields. The less healthy children are, the more care is necessary. Therefore I cannot think it would be fair play to circumscribe the Hospital, as if it should not rear more children in proportion, on a number of 800 per annum, than it did before on the number of 3900 per annum.

As the whole 800 will be *town* children, a greater proportion of them may die than if they were part *country* children ; with this advantage in favor of the former, that there will be so much less danger in the small journey to the Hospital : and whether the saving at the age of ten years shall be found to be 42 or only 32 in 100, it will be so vast an encrease on the parish mortality, as you will see by my Letter VI. as must give the highest satisfaction to every well-wisher to his country.

Though the whole number of 1841 children should not be living at the end of 1770, as mentioned in the *table*, the computation stands on a good foundation, there being

of children living, it cannot be presumed that it will be left without succor, where life is concerned; and something must unavoidably be left to Providence.

7. The intentions of the Governors will be to preserve every child to the utmost of their power. And this method will not, in effect, cost more than the parishes must be hereafter obliged to expend, if it is determined they shall use the means of preserving the poor children in question.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Proposals for the Relief of Parish Infant Poor, continued.

L E T T E R XLV.

IF we can devise the means whereby his Majesty may gain three thousand subjects in *ten* years, on one poor class of his people only; and that the same proportionate progress may be made annually in population, it will be no less for the service of the landed interest of these Kingdoms, than for the honor and advantage of *these* *islands*.

If any one of the less opulent parishes should plead poverty, or inability to comply with the moderate terms of it, the officers will in the same breath be obliged to confess that they have hitherto lost their infant poor, merely for not bestowing the means of preserving them.

What may be thought *necessary* in regard to the charging any richer parish in relief of a poorer, who have most infant poor; or by what other means the pecuniary part of the execution may be facilitated, in case of need, I do not decide; only that the greater part of the

the

mortality; it seems as if the computation in the table, is the nearest that can be well formed, to establish on all sides a proper, equitable, and *secure* plan.

There is the more reason for this allowance of 18½ per cent. as it appears that of 136 children received by the Hospital, knowing the objects, there is living after 6 years, 63 per cent. (see page 27) whereas the 1841, computed to be preserved, is but 57½ per cent.

After the first two or three years, we find the Foundlings live in as high a proportion as almost any other children; but the parish infant poor, in the hands of the officers, appear to moulder away so fast, that of the year 1762, in several of the registers they are near all dead, or delivered in 1765. Though 510 were received in July 1762, under 12 months, we find but 30 only transferred to 1765, and 10 of these are, if we may judge by the names, nursed by the mothers, which 10, according to the act, should not be entered in the registers.

If the Hospital should at any time appear to have an overplus of money, it may be accounted for, and the parishes excused paying for such a time as such overplus will allow of, so that in the issue the Hospital may receive, upon the general account, no more than it pays; and an *annual general account* being given, the whole will appear, with the distinction of the number *dead*, and the number *living*, as belonging to each parish respectively.

If the Governors of the Hospital were too narrowly circumscribed, they would hardly attempt to carry the design into execution. And if there should be sufficient grounds for a reduction of the computation, it may be more easily complied with, on the part of the Hospital,

tal, than an augmentation obtained of the parishes.—
In the mean time the children should on no account
perish for want.

It is reasonable to presume, that the augmented sum
of 31,005 *l.* at the end of *ten* years, will fix a period to
the proportion of the expence of 800 children annually,
supposing an equal number of them may go off into the
world, as others come on. But because it is probable
the Governors will be obliged to keep a considerable
number of the children longer than ten years of age, the
computation in the table becomes still the more reasonable.

Something must be left to time and experience. The
parishes being obliged to take *all the distressed*, exclusive
of these 800 infants under 4 years of age, will have op-
portunities enough to make a full display of their huma-
nity, by virtue of the *registers* now existing, and be a
check on the Hospital, as the Hospital will be upon them.
And *if the infants succeed in this effort for life*, the event
may prove equally happy to the parishes, to the Hospital,
to the children themselves, and to the community in
general whose happiness is the only object in question.

Whatever some parishes may accomplish in this great
work of humanity, and whatever improvements they are
capable of, yet on a comparison of the savings by the
Hospital, the difference hath hitherto been very striking.
Upon a survey of this table, with an attentive eye, you
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The registers of the infant poor from July 1762
to December 1765, including the transfers
from year to year, give 6032, and exclusive of
them — — — — —

4033
From

From which deducting those delivered to mothers

and parents — — — — — 1558

Remained in the hands of the officers — — 2414

who are computed at 800 per ann.

Alive on the abstract of the registers of 1765 — 690

I have already remarked, that in order to render an *act complete* with regard to the care of parish children, each parish respectively, within the bills of mortality, should annually give to the company of parish clerks, a *distinct account*, according to a form prescribed, of the following particulars, viz. The child's name—age when received under the care of the parish—when 'prenticed out—for how long time—person's name to whom 'prenticed—trade—place where living—what money given as an apprentice fee—If parents living, their name, trade, and place—with whatever else may be material. This may be a means of accomplishing a work which the present register leaves imperfect. It may also lay a foundation for a regular plan, in regard to this class of our fellow subjects *in general*.

I should also be glad it were seen, in good time, *how many* and which of the children registered, do really live to be placed out.

To prove more effectually how the great business of ushering children into the offices of life, from the parishes, hath been conducted, and whether we are mistaken or not, a *fair* and honest account of any *four years* of children 'prenticed out, with the distinctions abovementioned, will mark out in legible characters, what the usual fortune of these children is, with respect

to the lot assigned them in this capricious world, where they have so often met with bad quarters.

The children being no longer transferred, after they are past 4 years old, it is already somewhat difficult to discover if any children taken in their infancy, are preserved in the officers hands: and whilst we see so many die of 2 to 4 years old, beyond all common computation, we can never esteem any of them the safer for being discontinued in the register at 4 years old.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Computation for the Parish of St. Clement Danes; and further Reasons for their Concurrence in the humane Design recommended.

LETTER XLVII.

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				£.	s.	d.
1767	32	22	68 $\frac{3}{4}$	165	0	0
1768	64	40	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	300	0	0
1769	96	57	60	427	10	0
1770	128	74	58	555	0	0
1771	160	89	56	667	10	0
1772	192	105	54 $\frac{3}{4}$	787	10	0
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the eldest being reckoned *ten* years of age, and the youngest going on in *twelve months*. I suppose that those who go off by death, and those who come on the stage of life, by being placed out, will fix your expence, that it shall not encrease above the 1137*l.* 10*s.*

Thus you will have the pleasure to see 165 children as if they were risen from the grave!—but they will cost the last year 1137*l.* 10*s.*: and if such an acquisition of subjects continued on, it is easy to compute how much your parish and the community in general would be enriched by your conduct. Nor is it just that you should enjoy the *comforts*, much less the splendor of life, unless you supply your quota of working people committed to your charge in their infancy. If you suffer them to die, you commit injustice on other parishes; you require them to supply your defects, and by confounding the order of things, bring on poverty and distress.

It is necessary however to add, that if the legislature require the parishes under any modification, to send their children to the Hospital, it must be with the exception of those who are *properly* cherished at the mothers breast; *with* or *without* allowance from the parish, *i. e.* that the infant shall have all the fair play which the order of nature gives. In this case also, there will be a great latitude left for the display of your humanity, that like good officers, good parishioners, good subjects, and good christians, you may contribute your quota to the common stock; discharge one of the most essential duties which the Author of Nature requires at your hands, and execute your trust with *great credit* and *little trouble*.

Think seriously, can your parish employ the highest accumulated expence of this table, better than by avowing before God and man, that you have, human frailty excepted, done the *best* you could do; and that accordingly at the end of 10 years you had 150 or 160 children *living*. Would the *parishioners* who pay their money, complain to parliament, or the quarter sessions, that you had run them up to the expence of 1137*l.* 10*s.* for keeping so many children alive to the *tenth*, who before used to die within the *first* or *second* year?

The two great objects are the cost, and the management; one will naturally follow the other, for if a good price is paid, good service will be naturally sought for and expected; and if good service is done, it must be paid for.

It may be fairly presumed that one third, if not one half of the genuine dependants on parish rates within the bills of mortality, and nearly over the whole kingdom, are of the class of mankind under seven years of age: I say *genuine* dependants, because too many subsist by these rates for whom labor should be provided, that they may *furnish themselves* with bread. If we mean to preserve the infant poor, we can hardly appropriate to their service a less sum than *one quarter*, if not *one third* part of the parish rates, and particularly within the bills of mortality, viz. of the 120,000*l.* be it more or less, levied annually therein. I mean that it will amount to one *fourth* or one *third* part, if the children of the first year arrive at ten years of age, in the manner computed,

puted, so as to enable the *Hospital*, or the *Parish* if it preserves them, to begin to usher them into the world.

It is an arduous task to enter into all the recesses of misery, or adapt every means proper to the relief of it. What a curious account it would make, were it exactly stated *how much*, or rather *how little*, has been expended on each life, upon infants born in the workhouses or in parish houses, or brought into them, under 2 years old : how many have been reared from infancy : what hath been expended on such children till placed out, &c. This might open the scene still wider, and shew what little attention has been paid to the growing generation of laboring poor, dependant on the public, in this seat of opulency.

Upon examining the registers, how short a time the dead were alive ; how many were in the hands of the mothers ; how long these were in the workhouse ; and for how *few* any *pay* whatsoever has been given for nursing, it doth not appear to me that the whole charge in 1765 (notwithstanding a few parishes have done their duty) comes to 3000l. on 1795 children under four years of age, though the year 1765 comprehends also the *remains* of 1762, 1763, and 1764.

There is a sum of 1061l. 19s. 6d. received with 152 illegitimate children, which amounts to near 7l. which is so inadequate as not to be equal to a single year's expence : and how much of this has been appropriated to the preservation of infants, is a farther question.

An obligation to pay 5 or 10l. for a lawless *amour*, will not restrain the libertine part, even of the lower

Computation of the Numbers which may probably be preserved by the Hospital, and a Table of Rates of Mortality.

LETTER XLVI.

IT is the chief part of wisdom, when we cannot accomplish a greater good, to be contented with a lesser. The circumstances of these cities being so singular, we ought to wish that a more ample succor was afforded our infant poor. What was, and continues to be, the meaning of the Hospital, may still be carried into execution. But perhaps it may be proper, on this occasion, to recommend the example of Solon to the Athenians, who says, “he gave them not the best laws that could be given, but the best they were capable of receiving.” I dare say, when the parish officers are called upon, many will be candid in their accounts of things, and express their real hopes and fears. The gentlemen now in office, as far as I know, may be as wise as serpents, and as innocent as doves; but as they are not responsible for their predecessors, neither can they answer for the good conduct of those who may succeed them.

The following computation is founded upon this leading secure principle, that if the parishes were to pay so much money, they would not fail to send as many children as they have a title to send, as soon as the said children came to hand; and consequently such a certain number would have the same fair chance of living as the Foundlings, and their *own parish infants* had, in 1756 to 1759,

1759, when they sent all, or the most part of them, to the Hospital at the *public expense*.

Years.	Number of Children sent.	Computed Number preserved.	Rate per cent. preserved.	Amount at 7 l. 10 s.		
				£.	s.	d.
1767	800	540	67½	4050	0	0
1768	1600	999	62½	7492	10	0
1769	2400	1430	59½	10725	0	0
1770	3200	1841	57½	13807	10	0
1771	4000	2237	56	16777	10	0
1772	4800	2626	54½	19695	0	0
1773	5600	3009	53½	22567	0	0
1774	6400	3387	52½	25402	10	0
1775	7200	3762	52½	28215	0	0
1776	8000	4134	51½	31005	0	0

You will observe the price for nursing is the same as hath been experienced by the Hospital to be barely sufficient to answer the necessary expenses, to do common justice to the children, viz. 7 l. 10 s.

The computation is made on the bills of mortality on a medium from 1731 to 1761, computed on the whole mortality (a) at 25 per cent. to which is added 10 per cent. more deaths on the remaining 600, so that in the first year 800 may be sent, and only 540 are paid for.

The 1st year on 800 in the *table* amount to £. 4050

2d on 3900 received at the F. H. was — 30000

3d — 800 as in the *table*, annually — 16725

3d on 3900 received at the F. H. — 40000

4th — 800 as in the *table*, annually — 13807

4th on 3900 received at the F. H. — 50000

(a) On the whole burials, it is 25 the first year, and 11 per cent. the second year. On the burials of infants only, set against the christenings, under 2 years old, it will then be near 57 per cent.

To shew how much the above computation exceeds the real expence now actually bestowed on poor infants :

The 4th year, on the *table* is, — £.13,807 10 0
 But by the parish *registers*, in 1765, (being the 4th year of the register), it doth not appear that there hath been really expended on the *infant poor*, contained in the register, full — — — — 3000 0 0

It is very apparent, that this remarkable difference in the charge, or expence, is the chief cause of the great devastation of human life in the persons of these infants.

It was computed at the Hospital, that in case they had continued taking in children, the grants would have amounted to 100,000 l. per annum, and stopt at this sum ; and considering how the proportion of mortality encreased on the number of 3900, year upon year, I apprehend it might have stopt at 100,000 l. It is very remarkable that this kind of misery should keep such an equal pace as 3900 for near four successive years.

But the number of 800, received fairly and above-board, knowing whose and what children they are, I consider, in regard to *savings*, as more than one fourth part of 3900, taken blindly and indiscriminately.

If the number of children claimed by parents and friends, after they are past the dangerous part of life, should be greater than under the secret reception ; the Hospital will have some savings, and be the better enabled, on this account also, to exert itself, to put out children,

children properly, and yet not run up the expence beyond the computation.

If the children born within the bills of mortality, and brought to the parish officer, are less healthy than the generality of infants within the bills, more of them will of course die ; but this will be seen by the event.

That some are born of diseased mothers, I grant ; but, whilst so little care is taken of these children, I cannot rest any faith on such reasons, having seen fully displayed all the misery of these parishes when the same class of children were conveyed to Lamb's Conduit-fields. The less healthy children are, the more care is necessary. Therefore I cannot think it would be fair play to circumscribe the Hospital, as if it should not rear more children in proportion, on a number of 800 per annum, than it did before on the number of 3900 per annum.

As the whole 800 will be *town* children, a greater proportion of them may die than if they were part *country* children ; with this advantage in favor of the former, that there will be so much less danger in the small journey to the Hospital : and whether the saving at the age of ten years shall be found to be 42 or only 32 in 100, it will be so vast an encrease on the parish mortality, as you will see by my Letter VI. as must give the highest satisfaction to every well-wisher to his country.

Though the whole number of 1841 children should not be living at the end of 1770, as mentioned in the *table*, the computation stands on a good foundation, there being

to the lot assigned them in this capricious world, where they have so often met with bad quarters.

The children being no longer transferred, after they are past 4 years old, it is already somewhat difficult to discover if any children taken in their infancy, are preserved in the officers hands: and whilst we see so many die of 2 to 4 years old, beyond all common computation, we can never esteem any of them the safer for being discontinued in the register at 4 years old.

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mortality; it seems as if the computation in the table, is the nearest that can be well formed, to establish on all sides a proper, equitable, and *secure* plan.

There is the more reason for this allowance of 18½ per cent. as it appears that of 136 children received by the Hospital, knowing the objects, there is living after 6 years, 63 per cent. (see page 27) whereas the 1841, computed to be preserved, is but 57½ per cent.

After the first two or three years, we find the Foundlings live in as high a proportion as almost any other children; but the parish infant poor, in the hands of the officers, appear to moulder away so fast, that of the year 1762, in several of the registers they are near all dead, or delivered in 1765. Though 510 were received in July 1762, under 12 months, we find but 30 only transferred to 1765, and 10 of these are, if we may judge by the names, nursed by the mothers; which 10, according to the act, should not be entered in the registers.

If the Hospital should at any time appear to have an overplus of money, it may be accounted for, and the parishes excused paying for such a time as such overplus will allow of, so that in the issue the Hospital may receive, upon the general account, no more than it pays; and an *annual general account* being given, the whole will appear, with the distinction of the number *dead*, and the number *living*, as belonging to each parish respectively.

If the Governors of the Hospital were too narrowly circumscribed, they would hardly attempt to carry the design into execution. And if there should be sufficient grounds for a reduction of the computation, it may be more easily complied with, on the part of the Hospital,

tal, than an augmentation obtained of the parishes.—
In the mean time the children should on no account
perish for want.

It is reasonable to presume, that the augmented sum
of 31,005*l.* at the end of *ten* years, will fix a period to
the proportion of the expence of 800 children annually,
supposing an equal number of them may go off into the
world, as others come on. But because it is probable
the Governors will be obliged to keep a considerable
number of the children longer than ten years of age, the
computation in the table becomes still the more reasonable.

Something must be left to time and experience. The
parishes being obliged to take *all the distressed*, exclusive
of these 800 infants under 4 years of age, will have op-
portunities enough to make a full display of their huma-
nity, by virtue of the *registers* now existing, and be a
check on the Hospital, as the Hospital will be upon them.
And *if the infants succeed in this effort for life*, the event
may prove equally happy to the parishes, to the Hospital,
to the children themselves, and to the community in
general whose happiness is the only object in question.

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There is a sum of 106*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* received with 152 illegitimate children, which amounts to near 7*l.* which is so inadequate as not to be equal to a single year's expence : and how much of this has been appropriated to the preservation of infants, is a farther question.

An obligation to pay 5 or 10*l.* for a lawless *amour*, will not restrain the libertine part, even of the lower

In a farther view of the number of these children who were under 12 months old, whereby to form the more just idea of the mortality, we are to examine how short a time children live in the workhouses, and out of them. The *living*, under this age, appear as it were with their *winding sheets* in their hands.

Of 995 under 12 months old, I find the account stands thus :

		per cent. dead
Under 3 months old	—	241 — 24 $\frac{1}{2}$
6 Dittos	—	80 — 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
9 Dittos	—	50 — 5
12 Dittos	—	41 — 4
Dead	—	412 — 41 $\frac{1}{2}$
Delivered and discharged to fathers, mothers, and friends	—	256 — 25 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sent into the country to nurse	—	141 — 14
Alive in town of one years standing	—	186 — 18 $\frac{1}{2}$
		995

Thus we see the different rates per cent. at these different ages and distinctions; what proportions were discharged and what sent into the country. The latter being only 14 in 100, on these of 12 months and under, is one of the great evils complained of. We also see that there were living in town but 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the whole number received of these ages in the course of one year.

The

The Design of a regular and consistent Plan of nursing the Children of the Poor in these Cities.

L E T T E R XLVIII.

TO redeem the reputation of parish offices, and give nurses an impression of a *real intention* to preserve children, it was hoped, the column in the register, “ *Bounties paid to nurses as an encouragement to take all possible care of the children,*” would have produced some effect. It was intended to be of the nature of a premium, that nurses might suppose you meant that children should *live*, and not that they should *die*. This would indeed make it their *interest* to *preserve* them, *as* you think it is, especially if a woman should not only lose her *premium*, but also her *wages* for nursing any other child, after two or three children had died in her hands. If, under such circumstances, *good pay* was given to women of good fame, living in proper places, we should soon see a new scene. But still I adhere to the opinion of the necessity of *country nursing*.

I would add moreover that a nurse should be accountable for the child's clothes, that no motive of interest might arise from hence for the child to die. How far this circumstance may have operated, I cannot say; but it was a wise regulation of the Hospital to make the nurses accountable for the clothes, were it only for this reason.

If more money is required than is at present expended, and no part of the present parish rates saved, one of these things

things must follow, either an additional assessment must be made; adults, who can work, must be put on shorter allowance, and obliged more generally to labor; or both of these things must be done.

I mean to reason upon principles of the strictest equity, and therefore think, it ought to be maturely considered what parishes may be united, with respect to the poor, so as to take off the weight where it *cannot* be borne, if any such parishes there are, and place it where it *can*.

If due care was taken, I also make no doubt but that, *many parents who now retain infants for fear they should perish, as in a slaughterhouse, would then part with them*: and, if experience proves that they die in *their* hands by penury, is it not right that such should part with them? If there was a proper enquiry made, with due exertion of parochial authority, and a humane expenditure of the necessary sums, the whole truth would appear; the mortality would *decrease* sensibly; the *baptisms* would *increase*; the *poor* would have less horror on their minds in regard to the common effects of wedlock, and consequently they would more generally marry.

I compute on a fair experimental trial. You can tell at what a small expence the *business may be done*, upon condition that the children in question drop off, with lives of 30 or 40 days:—but *for God's sake*, Sir, let us not go on any longer at this deadly rate.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.:

Ratio of Mortality in the Parishes, under Nurses and Mothers, in Town and Country.

LETTER XLIX.

AS several difficulties may arise upon the face of the registers, which may perplex the cursory examiner, before I conclude, I think it necessary to mention such particulars as appear to be material.

In the general view of the abstract of 1765, it may be observed, that there were nursed in *workhouses* and *parish houses*, and dead, viz.

				dead:	per cent.
By mothers	—	—	—	613	250 - 40½
By nurses	—	—	—	1138	336 - 29½

This doth not turn *against* mothers being trusted with their own children, nor *for* other persons nursing them; 470 of the above were *discharged*, which much encreases the rate of mortality on the remainder. But the 40½ per cent. from the birth and under 12 months old, is a smaller number than 29½ per cent. of 1 to 4 years. The common rate by the bills of mortality is 49¼ per cent. under 2 years, and but 11½ between 2 and 5; consequently we must conclude, that the *mothers* suckling their own infants, and only 40½ per cent. dying under 12 months old, is so much *in favor* of these mothers, not *against* them. Yet if they bury 40½ per cent. in a workhouse in so short a time, it may be deemed such a proof *against* workhouses as corroborates the doctrine of the pernicious effects of them to infants; and teach us to shun such places as much as possible.

D d

In

In a farther view of the number of these children who were under 12 months old, whereby to form the more just idea of the mortality, we are to examine how short a time children live in the workhouses, and out of them. The *living*, under this age, appear as it were with their *winding sheets* in their hands.

Of 995 under 12 months old, I find the account stands thus :

		per cent. dead.
Under 3 months old	—	241 — 24 $\frac{1}{4}$
6 Dittos	—	80 — 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
9 Dittos	—	50 — 5
12 Dittos	—	41 — 4
Dead	—	412 — 41 $\frac{1}{2}$
Delivered and discharged to fathers, mothers, and friends	—	256 — 25 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sent into the country to nurse	—	141 — 14
Alive in town of one years standing	—	186 — 18 $\frac{1}{2}$
		995

Thus we see the different rates per cent. at these different ages and distinctions; what proportions were discharged and what sent into the country. The latter being only 14 in 100, on these of 12 months and under, is one of the great evils complained of. We also see that there were living in town but 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the whole number received of these ages in the course of one year.

The

From 1 to 3½ years old	Of what nursed in workhouses or not appear to be sent elsewhere.	Dead.	Days medium of life.	Nursed by nurses in town.	Dead.	Nursed in the country.
24	17	10	32	4	1	—

Here we see of 24 of 1 to 3½ years old, 17
nursed in the workhouse, of whom are dead 10,
or per cent. — — — — — 70½

These did not live upon a medium above 32
days, *one excepted*, who reached 4 months and 6
days; and of the 7 surviving, 2 had not been a
month in the house.

By the force of 2s. or 2s. 6d. a week in the
nurses hands, even in town, there is dead but 1 in 4

In regard to the children of this parish under
twelve months old of 98 poor infants 78 are nursed
in the workhouses, and of these are dead 64, or
per cent. — — — — — 82

and they lived upon a medium 24 days and 8
hours, with the exception of *one*, who lived 9
months 11 days.

At the same time, where there is the *expence*
of 2s. 2s. 6d. or 3s. a week for nursing, there are
dead upon 9, only 1, which is per cent. — — — 11½
if the above account be true, these are fortunate nurses.

Of children received in 1765 in the parish of St. Giles
in the Fields, and St. George Bloomsbury, from the birth to
the fourth year of life, the medium of the lives of those
that die, is about 40 days—And even mothers who
venture

65 were of 1 to 4 years old, of whom 45 remained alive, or per cent. — — — 70

Here the difference is so apparently in favor of the country, as to admit of no comparison, and shews the necessity of a compulsive law to adopt and pursue this plan.

The superior mortality of some parishes compared with others, must chiefly depend on the good or bad choice of the places, and quality of the nurses to whom children are sent, and the price paid.

Many of the villages near town, as Lambeth, Battersea, Chelsea, Islington, Bow, and such like, here called *the country*, resemble these cities so much in the air, close rooms, and manners of the people, and in the women's knowledge of the ordinary destiny of poor parish infants, that we cannot build on the foundation of *such country nursing*; but it still proves, beyond all the power of oratory, what plan ought to be pursued; and no mathematical demonstration can be more convincing to testify the necessity of sending them into good hands in sweet air, if we mean to prevent this carnage of our species.

It is most evident from the conduct of such parishes as are attentive to their infant poor, upon the comparison with others, that the evil arises either from ignorance or false parsimony: it is because the most common computed expence is *not* allowed, that such a number of children are lost to the community.

The deeper we examine, the more we find what may be done by the proper encouragement of nurses in pro-

per places. St. Martin's in the Fields you see pays 3s. a week, exclusive of cloathing, and has the command of sober reputable women in the most healthy villages. This was the price paid originally by the Foundling Hospital, when full half their children were reared. This is deemed a low price in common life. This appears to have been the computation for infants in 1686, when money was considerably of less value than at present. How life came to be *cheapened* away as it is, in the persons of these poor infants, is very hard to say. This however we may pronounce, that *humanity* and *national prudence* require that 3s. should be paid.

I find the deaths of children from six to ten years old, belonging to the orphan hospital, is nearly per cent. $3\frac{1}{2}$

The common bills of mortality of these ages is $2\frac{1}{2}$.

Christ Hospital children from seven to fourteen, is not per cent. per annum quite — — — I

As to infants in workhouses, there are so few who live to be *seven*, that I know not what the rate is.

In Christ Hospital, I presume the children have generally had the small-pox before they are brought thither; but the ample revenues which furnish the means of a proper support of these young persons, as well as the excellent order and good management of that valuable and useful christian institution, contribute to render the mortality so very low,

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Further

Further Remarks on the Rate of Mortality.

LETTER L.

IN my last I mentioned the 995 children under 12 months; and I find in the general abstract of 1765, the children past 12 months old, are 800; the account of whom stands thus:

Age.	Number.	Delivered.	Dead.	Remain.	Dead per cent. on 800.
1½ year	221	—	71	—	87½
2 years	96	—	30	415	37½
3 years	264	204	58	—	7½
4 years	219	—	22	—	2½
	800		181		22½

If we take it on the 415, it is near twice 22½. In the joint parish of St. Andrew above Bars and St. George the Martyr, the price of 3s. is paid for nursing 33 children, but several are reduced to 1s. per week, though under 4 years old, which is monstrously absurd! The abstract of this account, being of 114 children, stands thus:

From the birth to 12 months.	Of whom nursed in the work-house.	Of whom dead.	Medium days of life.	Nursed by nurses in town.	Of whom dead.	Discharged.	Nursed in the country.	Of whom dead.
90	78	64	24½	9	1	11	6	2

From

From 1 to 3½ years old	Of whom nursed in workhouses or not appear to be sent elsewhere.	Dead.	Days medium of life.	Nursed by nurses in town.	Dead.	Nursed in the country.
24	17	10	32	4	1	—

Here we see of 24 of 1 to 3½ years old, 17
nursed in the workhouse, of whom are dead 10,
or per cent. — — — — — 70½

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if the above account be *true*, these are fortunate *nurses*.

Of children received in 1765 in the parish of *St. Giles*
in the Fields, and *St. George Bloomsbury*, from the birth to
the fourth year of life, the medium of the lives of those
that die, is about 40 days—And even mothers who
venture

venture to keep children at their own breast, have but a bad chance of preserving them. I have traced the remains of 1765 to the end of 1766, and I find as follows :

Born and received in 1765	— — — —	133
Of whom <i>discharged</i> in 1765 after a residence		
under the officers of about a month	—	54
Ditto in 1766	— — — —	8
		62
Remain	— — — —	71
Dead in 1765 after a life of about a month		99
Dead in 1766	— — — —	11
Living in the workhouse in 1766	— — — —	6
In the mothers hands, for which she is paid		
1s. 6d. per week	— — — —	1
		71

and these 6 children living being $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on 70, were received past the dangerous part of life, viz. 1 was of 2 years 7 months old, 1 of 2 years, 1 of 1 year, 1 of 8 months, 1 of 6 months : and *one was born* in 1765, and *alive* the end of 1766 ! This *fortunate* child being named *Mary Flood*, makes me think of the Antediluvians : she seems either to have been a great favorite in the workhouse, or to enjoy a stamina beyond common mortals since the deluge.

In retrospecting the register of the same parish of 1762, I find the number in that year was 94, of whom 45 were of the following ages, viz. of 1 year old 11, of 2 years 15, of 3 years 19, in all 45, being some time after *the dangerous part of life* ; and these are disposed of as follows :

Dis-

	Discharged.	Dead.	Remains.
In 1762	13	14	18
1763	3	7	8
1764 not transferred as over age.			6
1765			alive 2

so that, as far as appears, here are only 2 children alive in the hands of the officers, and 6 that we know nothing of.

In regard to those under 12 months old of 1762, being 49, they are 30 under 2 months old, 16 under 5 months, and 3 under 11 months; it can hardly be imagined that these have better fortune, on the contrary we see

	Dead.	Discharged.	Alive.
In 1762	23	17	9
1763	5	1	3
1764	—	—	—
1765	2	—	1

so that, in this account we find alive in the officers hands only one child from 1762 to 1765.

The same appears of several parishes, with regard to near their whole number of children, those which are over age for the registers, being dropt: whence it is evident that to investigate the object fully, the registers should be continued on till the child is placed out.

Parishes.	Born and received in 1762 under 12 months old.	Received in 1762 of 1 to 4 years old.	Discharged.	Dead.	Over age not transferred to 1765.	In the register of 1765.
St. Botolph Aldgate, Midd.	8	6	3	11	—	—
St. Botolph without Aldg.	13	8	8	13	—	—
St. Ann Middlesex - -	2	7	5	2	2	—
St. Leonard Shoreditch - -	10	18	1	5	22	—
St. John Wapping - -	5	7	5	2	—	5
St. Saviour Southwark - -	6	10	3	12	1	—
St. Giles without Crippleg.	5	15	5	6	9	—
St. Dunstan Stepney - -	1	6	3	3	—	1
Saffron Hill St. Andrew -	9	12	7	10	4	—
Christ Church Spitalfields	6	16	2	10	10	—
St. George Martyr Southw.	15	9	10	12	2	—
	80	114	52	86	50	6

Here we see of 194 children 114 of 1 to 4 years old; and 80 (all received in 1762) under 12 months old, which could not possibly be 4 years old in the beginning of 1765; but the only ones of the whole living, to be transferred to 1765, are 5 belonging to St. John Wapping, and 1 to St. Dunstan Stepney. I send you these few as a specimen, taken as they come to hand.

As to the 50 children not transferred, as being over age, we know nothing further of them: about 25 were near 2 years, and 25 about 3 years old, when they were first entered upon the register, and consequently very few, if any of them, should be dead at this time; but what their fortune really is, I cannot tell you.

I am yours, &c. J. H.

An Account of several Parts of this Kingdom, which have been found to be the least, and others the most fortunate in the Preservation of Infants, sent to nurse by the Hospital.

LETTER LI;

THE subject before us is so important, produces so vast a variety of different views, and furnishes such strong foundations whereon to build the most substantial reasonings, it is difficult to find where to fix a period—I have before had occasion to mention that the villages of Lambeth, Chelsea and Battersea, do not appear to be eligible to send infants to nurse, more than *Islington* on the north side of these cities. So far is apparent from the *registers*, granting these places to be far preferable to workhouses.

Upon a critical inspection, I find the following places have proved the most mortal to the children of the *Hospital*; tho' it must be remembered that the Governors chose the nearest places for the weakest children when there was time to make distinctions, and not the best nurses, which could be wished for, to be procured in such neighborhoods. In regard to the following nurseries, being all of children of the same ages received and sent out in the course of about 5 years, by the Hospital, the fact stands thus:

County.	Nursery.	Number of children sent.	Number dead.	Dead per cent.
Kent.	Charlton.	108	73	$67\frac{1}{2}$
Middlesex.	Edmonton (a).	157	136	$86\frac{3}{4}$
	Kensington.	72	58	$80\frac{1}{2}$
	Knightsbridge.	30	25	83
	Stoke Newington	24	18	75
	Bow.	150	130	$86\frac{2}{3}$
Surry.	Finchly.	77	59	$76\frac{1}{2}$
	Camberwell.	74	60	81
		692	559	

Hence it appears that out of 692 children sent to the above places, in the course of five years, 559 died, which is per cent. on a medium — — — $80\frac{1}{2}$

The next greatest mortality is in capital towns, or in the neighborhood of them, tho' far short of the villages about London, viz.

Nurseries in towns.	Number of children sent.	Number dead.	Dead per cent.
Newbury.	308	179	58
Reading.	147	87	59
St. Albans.	105	55	$52\frac{1}{2}$
Barnet.	204	104	51
Darking.	493	315	64
Farnham.	325	177	$54\frac{1}{2}$
		1582	917

Which upon the whole is per. cent. but — — — 58
 Happy it was, in such a multitude of children, to find
 such

(a) St. Brides preserved her children in 1765 at Edmonton; but it must be noted that they were chiefly of a to 4 years of age.

such nurseries and persons who would take care of so many as were crowded on the hospital.

The *next* degree of mortality was where children have been sent to considerable distances, viz. Of 390 conveyed into Staffordshire, under the most respectable persons as inspectors, 196 only have died in about 5 years, which is per cent. — — — — — $50\frac{1}{4}$

The places where the *least* mortality of the hospital children has prevailed is in small villages about 40 miles round London, viz.

County.	Nursery.	Number of children sent.	Number dead.	Dead per cent.
Bedford -	Luton - -	84	34	$40\frac{1}{2}$
Berks -	Barkham - -	32	13	$40\frac{2}{3}$
	Midgham - -	84	33	40
	Swallowfield -	95	42	44
Bucks -	Langley - -	54	26	48
Effex -	Brentwood - -	170	84	$49\frac{1}{4}$
	Hempstead - -	111	44	40
	Shelly - - -	83	27	$32\frac{1}{2}$
Hants -	Odeham - -	103	41	40
Herts -	Lilly - - - }	126	45	$35\frac{3}{4}$
	Hitchin - - }			
Kent -	Barham - -	92	36	40
	Leybourn - -	46	23	50
	West Peckham	63	26	41
Surry -	Cobham - -	100	41	41
	Guilford - -	180	95	$52\frac{3}{4}$
	Rygate - - -	74	28	$37\frac{3}{4}$
	Leatherhead -	134	44	$32\frac{3}{4}$
		1631	682	

682 on 1631, is per cent — — — — — 41

After making some enquiry among my friends and correspondents *in the country*, one may judge how the *general* mortality of children under 5 years of age, in the king-

kingdom bears to the baptisms, and the following account will afford you some satisfaction on this head.

Time inclusive.	Place.	Christenings.	Medium per ann.	Burials under 5 years old.	Medium per ann.	Encrease per cent. till 5 years old.
1756 to 1765	Hitchin - -	683	68	204	20	70
1754 to 1765	Newbury - -	781	65	229	17	71 $\frac{1}{2}$
1761 to 1765	St. Albans - -	197	33	58	10	71 $\frac{1}{2}$
1755 to 1765	Hatfield - -	352	32	108	10	69
1756 to 1765	Colchester - -	261	26	90	9	65
1760 to 1765	Guilford - -	104	17	32	5	69
1744 to 1749	Speen - -	230	38	67	11	71
1746 to 1765	Swakely - -	125	6	30	2	76
1756 to 1765	Chertsey - -	798	80	174	17	78 $\frac{1}{4}$
1750 to 1760	Monk Sherburn	106	10	15	2	86
1751 to 1765	Burfield - -	314	21	58	4	84 $\frac{3}{4}$
10 years.	Shelly - -	22	2	2	—	91
1756 to 1765	Darking - -	619	61	125	12	80
1761 to 1765	Dilroon (a) -	150	30	48	10	70
1756 to 1765	Abshare - -	198	19	22	2	88 $\frac{1}{4}$
1756 to 1766	Frant near Tun- bridge - -	111	10	21	2	81 $\frac{1}{4}$
1763 to 1765	Hanworth (b)	20	5	5	1	75
1766 in 9 mon.	Woodford - -	24	—	8	—	66 $\frac{1}{2}$
		5095		1296		

1296 burials on 5095 christenings, are on a medium,
per cent. dead — — — — — 25 $\frac{1}{4}$

Consequently living per cent. — — — — — 74 $\frac{3}{4}$

Whereas we find in the bills of mortality in 1765,
9948 burials, of the 5th year, on 16374 christen-
ings, which is per cent. — — — — — 60 $\frac{3}{4}$

Consequently living per cent. only — — — — — 39 $\frac{1}{4}$
And

(a) In 1763 22 dyed of the Small-Pox, whereas the usual deaths by this distemper is but 6.

(b) 2 more were buried, but they were sent from London.

And the difference between $74\frac{3}{4}$ and $39\frac{1}{4}$ is — $35\frac{1}{2}$. Whence it follows, that if we mean to preserve the growing generation of working poor, we must send them, whenever we can do it without violence on the rights of parents, to places where they have so much a fairer chance of life. Some are the *children of the public*, and some parents may be easily persuaded that it is better their children should live than die; and tho' it cannot be expected the children removed from place to place, can live in the same proportion as others, native to the spot, most probably in the mothers hands, yet we see by the account of the *Hospital*, that in spite of the migrations of these poor infants, wholesome places will preserve alive $74\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to 5 years old, instead of $39\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the common bills of mortality.

Upon the *whole number in the bills*, 24 die to 16 born: and the evil is not much less in other great towns where no remedy is sought for. I presume there are many more people married at Newcastle, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, than in London, but from living more close, and in no less sulphurous smell of coals, their infants die in greater proportions, and consequently the *whole number* looks formidable.

In Newcastle in 1763 to 1765 inclusive, christened 2206 Buried 2205, with the addition of 350 per ann.

reckoned to be buried on the ballast hills, &c. 3255. Consequently there are more burials than births 1055 which brings it near equal to these cities of 2 born and and 3 buried. In places less populous, partaking more
of

maternal tenderness, though under the gripe of poverty, we see the noblest part of the creation preserved its appointed time; whilst the parish officers in these cities commanding the purses of the most wealthy part of these kingdoms, yet alas, whilst I am writing, I receive fresh indubitable testimony, *incredible* as it may appear, that of *some thousands of parish infants*, born and received under 12 months old, into all the principal parishes, *eleven* children only have survived to be prenticed out, in a certain time: and of those of 3 years old, when taken in, *not thirty* lived to be placed out; those who survived are from 6 to 13 when taken in. Such are the effects of *false parsimony*, and want of *justice*, joined to the mothers departing from the paths of nature, and the vices which prevail here: but still we may judge, by what has been done at the Orphan Hospital, what may be done hereafter for the parishes. In the mean time, it is much for the honor of the Reverend Mr. *Cholwell*, who has had the care of *Stevenage* for many years, that the people are all nearly of one mind about religious worship.

I am yours, &c. J. H.

Some Heads of a Law for the better Preservation of the Infant Poor,

L E T T E R LII.

THE importance of the vitality of men, and the carnage which hath followed by the neglect of this class of infants, is a very interesting consideration. No *policy* can warrant inhumanity; on the contrary, you may discover, that every infant preserved, and *properly* educated, is so far secured from penury, and so

much

persons married, not on the gain, for it is but 99;
 but 98 marriages, which reckoned on the 420
 born, is per cent. — — — — — 23

This increase of marriages, from 1744 to 1766, is imputed to the good effects of the marriage act; for where people are *soberly* inclined, it certainly operates happily by young women being given to young men, who will take care of them for life, and not merely for the charms of a red coat or a brown one; and as it is conformable to our antient laws, it is a proper guard of parental authority, on which the well-being of a state depends.

Steuernage doth not enjoy any particular advantage of soil, air, or water; and as it is a great thoroughfare to the north, the inhabitants cannot be supposed more pure and simple in their lives, more cleanly, tender, sober, or industrious in their manners, than the neighboring villages; and most of the women drink *tea*, tho' they probably suffer for want of *necessaries*. They consist of low mechanics, artisans, and three in four are laborers, with a few principal farmers. The food of the poor is *good bread*, cheese, pease, and turnips in winter, with a little pork or other meat, when they can afford it: but from the high price of meat, it has not lately been within their reach. As to milk, they have hardly sufficient for their use. The women are employed in spinning wool, hay-making, weeding corn, picking stones in the fields for the turnpike-roads, washing, and such laborious offices, —and they suckle their own children.

Almighty and most merciful Father of mankind, what is man that thou hast such respect unto him! —By the force of

maternal tenderness, though under the gripe of poverty, we see the noblest part of the creation preserved its appointed time; whilst the parish officers in these cities commanding the purses of the most wealthy part of these kingdoms, yet alas, whilst I am writing, I receive fresh indubitable testimony, *incredible* as it may appear, that of *some thousands of parish infants*, born and received under 12 months old, into all the principal parishes, *eleven* children only have survived to be 'prenticed out, in a certain time: and of those of 3 years old, when taken in, *not thirty* lived to be placed out; those who survived are from 6 to 13 when taken in. Such are the effects of *false parsimony*, and want of *justice*, joined to the mothers departing from the paths of nature, and the vices which prevail here: but still we may judge, by what has been done at the Orphan Hospital, what may be done hereafter for the parishes. In the mean time, it is much for the honor of the Reverend Mr. *Cholwell*, who has had the care of *Stevenage* for many years, that the people are all nearly of one mind about religious worship.

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much the more valuable to the community. And in cases wherein parents are really distressed, if a provision for the child be made, they will be the more enabled to work for themselves; and consequently the parish rates will not be augmented by this means, but rather fewer beggars will swarm in our streets.

It being so very apparent that in most of the parishes of these cities, the mortality of such infants is *exceedingly grievous*, it follows that some remedy is *absolutely necessary*; and what it shall be, is the grand question before us. Happy that parish which will take the lead, before any coercive power takes place, which they may be obliged to comply with afterwards!

Whatever infants may be sent to the Hospital, the parish officer must convey them with due speed and great care, either by the hands of the persons who apply to them, or by trusty persons whom they shall appoint for that purpose; and these must carry with them a writing or order for admittance into the Hospital. If the children are detained in the workhouse to be poisoned by noxious air, it will not avail to send them dying to the Hospital.

To suppose that the officer will be tempted to refuse a child when brought to him, whether illegitimate, casual, or parishioner, on the presumption that as every one he receives will have a fair chance of life, therefore he must now be cautious how he embarks the parish in an expence; this would imply a violation of all the rules of humanity, and a defiance of all law; and as such conduct should not pass with impunity, it can hardly be imagined it will happen hereafter.

The

The more humane and judicious the officer, the more speedily he will convey a child to the Hospital. But as he is subject to be imposed on, as well as to err in judgment, he may as readily submit to be summoned before a justice of the peace, whenever he thinks it right and just to refuse a child offered to him; that he may give his reasons for such refusal, and the validity of such reasons be fairly examined into, still having the life of the child in view.

Every parent or friend of a child will naturally endeavour to obtain the advantage which the law proposes. But where no parent nor friend appears on its behalf, and the officer wants sense or virtue to accept of a child, or after accepting detains it, so as to be infected by a workhouse air, and it dies; tho' this will appear by the registers, as already appointed by law, and by the inspection which may be appointed, it will not bring the child to life.

As to the register already established, it can hardly happen to be materially false, without a manifest intention of injuring a child: whether there should be any oath given or not, as to the truth of it, if we mean to have any account that is effectual to the end of knowing what is become of the children, they must be continued in the register till delivered to parents or friends, dead, or placed out.

To prevent all acts of parochial tyranny, which have been sometimes practised; and to guard a life where the officer may not be obliged, by any parish law now in being, to take a child, though in the utmost distress,

as in some cases of illegitimacy, wherein the father hath absconded, or wherein no legal title to parish aid can be proved, some clauses might be provided in such cases. But let us by no means lose the main object *for fear of losing it*, nor for any accidental abuses which may be apprehended.

The Hospital account may be kept in marginal columns, with each parish distinct, according to a schedule to be annexed, viz. The date when received—the N^o.—the name—when the child was born or received—the reputed or real age—when placed out in any nurse's hands by the Hospital—her name and place of abode—her weekly wages for nursing—under whose inspection in the country—the name of the parents, if legitimate—their place of abode—if father or mother dead, or absent. All which particulars being entered in a proper book, or books, to be kept by the governors of the Hospital, such book or books, or true copies thereof, to be deemed good and legal evidence in courts of law and equity.

The children to be maintained and educated, and placed out as apprentices, or otherwise disposed of, in such manner as the Hospital shall direct; and be subject to such rules, orders and regulations as the other children educated by the Hospital are subject to.

At the time of the apprenticeship, disposal, or death of any child, a certificate thereof to be sent to the parish officers of the parish to which such child did belong, so that the parents may be informed thereof if required.

No legitimate or other child or children whatever within the bills of mortality, to be delivered to the Go-

vernors

vernors of the Hospital, against the consent of parents : but in cases wherein the parents are not of sufficient ability to maintain such children, and will not deliver them up to be sent to the said Hospital, it may be lawful for any one or more of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, who have authority to act in the respective parish to which such children belong, to make such order for a weekly allowance, for the relief of such parents and children, as he shall judge necessary ; and if in case any parish shall think themselves aggrieved by any such order, it may be lawful for such parish to appeal to the next quarter session, whose order thereupon may be final.

. The sum agreed to be paid for the maintenance and education of such parish children as shall be maintained by the Hospital, to be paid by the parish officers of the parish to which the children belong, out of the poor's rates of such parish, whether it be from the time of the reception of each such child, till the time of its death or discharge, or upon the general and more practicable plan which I have recommended to you.

In case any sum or sums of money directed to be paid, shall not be paid to the person or persons who are authorised by the Hospital to receive the same ; it may be lawful for any one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex or Surry respectively, to summon the officer or officers who refuse or neglect such payment, and to order immediate payment to be made of so much as shall appear to him to be due, together with such reasonable cost and charges as the Hospital

pital

pital may be put to, by reason of such refusal or neglect.

If, after such order, he refuses or neglects to obey the same, the sum directed to be paid by it, should be recovered by distress and sale of the goods of the officer offending, together with the cost of the distress.

It will greatly facilitate the execution of any plan of this kind, to leave the number of parishes *within the walls* of London to their own sole direction: *first*, because they are so numerous, and have so few children; and *secondly*, because it may be more agreeable to the parties most interested, to be left to themselves; their registers will still stand in full force, and free for any inspection. A third part of these parishes, in 1765, had no children, and in general they are farmed out. But can a master of a workhouse in the country, or environs of London, with many old and decrepid, lazy or worthless people about him, consistently take the charge of *infants* also? And if *he* is to provide proper nurses, why not the parish officers themselves, who will probably do it more effectually?

The eyes of the world will hereafter be more open; and I hope what the hospital will perform, will give such a sanction to the deed, as that all the powers of darkness will not be able to prevail against it.

Let us suppose that after such experience and so many efforts not rightly digested, every *parish officer*, every *man*, far from endeavoring to litigate and obstruct, as if the carnage of infants were a pastime, will on the contrary cheerfully concur in promoting any reasonable plan

of this kind. Let us *suppose* that it will be so till we *see* the contrary.

Those parishes which have particular acts in their favor, and desire to retain the direction of their children, and give proof that they *can* and *will* take care of them, as they may plead a better title to the *power* and *ability* of doing it, they may be indulged the more: but alas! it is not in the nature of things to be expected they will either begin, or continue, to act the same tender part as the Governors of the Hospital have done: and to plead a particular right to do mischief, and create to themselves much trouble, can never avail them. Therefore, Sir, I hope they will swim with the tide, and with leading prosperous gale.

When the nature of the grievance is remembered, being no less than *life* and *death*, and that it hath long prevailed amongst us: that parish officers are a fluctuating body, and that there is no security of their continuing steady in any pursuit: — that they may do right to-day, and wrong to-morrow; and are now in a habit of wrong: in *this view* it is to be wished that *all* the parishes within the bills of mortality should send *all* their infant poor to the Hospital to be nursed. The education of them to be also under the direction of the Governors.

The children being again sent by the Hospital to the most wholesome parts of the country, and to the scenes where agriculture flourishes; or where, by means of the increase of inhabitants, it may be made to flourish, it must

must be beneficial to us. The charge will not exceed a certain sum, whether the child dies, or is placed out.

If these parish children so prepared should, in process of time, think fit to visit their native city, they will be as free as other subjects, and may recruit London; and if, instead of their infant bones being consigned to a charnel-house here, they bring their children's children with them, so much greater glory will those parish officers acquire who further and promote the plan before us.

Therefore, if the Governors and Guardians of exposed and deserted young children are empowered to receive such infants as the respective parishes shall send to them upon certain terms, it must be considered as a humane, politic and patriotic measure.

If any parish, as I have supposed, should desire to be exempted, as having a particular act of parliament in their favor, or for any other particular good reason, the great out-line of their duty should, notwithstanding, be marked out to them, otherwise they may soon unhinge their own *present* good design; viz.

1. They should send all their children to nurse in the country, and to a distance not less than ten miles from these cities.

2. They should not pay less for nursing than 2 s. 6 d. per week, exclusive of clothes and other charges.

3. They should provide at least 30 s. a year more for cloathing and other contingencies.

4. They should give the nurse a premium of 10 s. on each child alive after the first six months, and 5 s. every year afterwards, that the child is living; it being sup-

posed that if the nurse be not a good one, she will be changed.

5. There should be a number of respectable persons, under the title of *Parochial Inspectors*, some whereof to be physicians or surgeons, to belong to the vestry; the whole, if not appointed by parliament, to be chosen from among the elders of the parish, with power to supervise and represent any defect they may observe in the quality or conduct of the nurses; and in case their representations are neglected by the overseers or officers, to lay the same before the Quarter Sessions; certain fines and penalties to be inflicted in case of such neglect as shall be thought reprehensible.

This will introduce such an awe and discipline as will be a sufficient security to the public, that none of its children be ill treated, or their natural privilege violated.

If it were thought expedient to include all the parishes in question under one common injunction; from a difficulty of separating them, though some inconveniences should attend it, this will surely be far preferable to leaving the business in the course it now is; and it is very much to be questioned, whatever may be done for a year or two, if upon a medium of the saving of the best parishes, any such proportion as a third, or even a sixth part of the infants they receive, will be reared under their direction, who have so many adults to regulate, and are so unaccustomed to rear children.

In every case, much will depend on the candor of the officers in judging of what is best for the children

and their knowledge, zeal, and disinterested behavior in the executive part even of receiving and conveying children to the Hospital, without which the business cannot be rendered complete. Whether the injunction be general or limited, I hope that will be done which shall appear most adviseable to the wisdom of the Legislature; and that we shall not forget that we are accountable to *God* as well as *man*.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

Remarks on Church Wardens and Overseers; and a good Parish Officer described.

L E T T E R LIII.

IT is a deplorable situation for a man to distrust the integrity of his servants every moment that his life is in their power. The laws of the land have appointed parish officers to act, in one respect, in the highest part of government, namely, the immediate care and preservation of the lives of certain subjects, who are totally at their mercy, and cannot complain of any outrage or injurious conduct towards them, let it be ever so extravagantly cruel. This law supposes that no man will injure another, under the sanction of secrecy, where no benefit or a very inconsiderable advantage can accrue; and as the officer is elective annually, it also supposes that where a defect is found, it will be guarded against. But if the fact is, that inconsiderable as this benefit may be, the justice due to the poor is violated in the persons

sons of young children; and notwithstanding such violation the election continues to be made of such persons as walk in the same path, unless some superior authority interferes, there can be *no relief*, and under the sanction of law the most atrocious crimes will be practised with impunity.

It was some time since recommended to *parishioners* in a public manner, to consider seriously to whom they delegated their power. The foundation of it was not merely on account of infants, but in regard to the keeping the power in the hands of a *Junto*, and their general management. It comes most home to us where the objects are most entitled to commiseration. The several points recommended were,

“ 1. That the reputable house-keepers in general, of every parish, make it a point on the election day, to give an early and punctual attendance at church at the time appointed, or rather before, to converse together, and look round among themselves, for a proper set of officers. Such a numerous and respectable appearance of disinterested gentlemen, will check and overawe the Junto, and prepare the way for a regular, calm, and fortunate election.

2. Mark well, which way the drunken interest points, (for they cannot hide themselves) and all unite to oppose an election which has been previously and clandestinely carried over your heads.

3. Let this opposition be general to all the officers of their proposing, that are known to herd with them. You must break the combination at once, by choosing
a whole

a whole set of officers, whose hands are clean, and totally free of all connection with the cabal. Without this all will be in vain. If you could chuse two or three angels to serve with a remnant of the old sort, they cannot serve you : they might plague themselves, but the benefit arising to the public would be very imperceptible ; and they must either run with the impure current, or be at open variance and enmity.

4. Above all things, guard against men who are known to be of arbitrary principles, who have shewn themselves eager to drag on parishioners into pernicious measures, by the terrors of the law, rather than consult the body of parishioners ; the consequences of chusing them must be lasting and fatal.

5. Strive to chuse men of congruent principles, and liberal ways of thinking, who will glory in each others company to unite their joint efforts to serve the public.

6. If fortunate enough to make a delicate, judicious choice of men, whom you can confide in, apply to the gentlemen elected, to inform them, that the parish does not want their money, but stands in need of their service ; that it is not meant as a trap to catch fines, but to engage men of honor and ability in the service of the public.

7th, and lastly, Though I recommend a spirited, vigorous opposition, to the preconcerted measures of an overbearing party, yet I would equally recommend moderation, good humor, and a calm temper, as the surest means of compassing the desirable end abovementioned."—The writer then goes on ;

“ As

“ As I may not, probably, have leisure to address the public on this subject before the critical day be over, which will determine the fate of parishes for the ensuing year, I will conclude with my hearty and sincere wishes for success to all honest intentions, and laudable endeavors, that all things may be done decently and in order, and for the best purposes of promoting peace and tranquility on the most sure and permanent foundation,—truth, honesty, virtue and public spirit.”

Is not this good advice? But I want to know how to proceed in cases of a discovery of facts, whereby a young fellow-subject is materially injured by a parish officer, and what the duty of such officer is. At length I find Dean Prideaux's Directions to Church-wardens, for the faithful Discharge of their Office, comprised in 132 pages in twelves, wrote in 1692, and reprinted in 1730, then sold by R. Knaplock, at the Bishop's Head, St. Paul's Church-yard, and J. Tonson, at Shakespear's Head, over-against Katherine-street, in the Strand. This little book contains a vast variety of matter, of which the following are the heads:

Absenters from Church.	Bread and Wine at the
Accounts.	Communion.
Act of Toleration.	Burglary.
Alchouses and Taverns.	Burials.
Baptisms, Dissenting.	— What Fees due for
Behavior in the Church.	Burials.
Bells.	Chancels.
Boundaries of Parishes.	— No Addition to be
	made

- made to them, without the Parson's Consent.
- To break into them by Night is Burglary.
- Churches.
- Churches and Church-yards
- To be repaired by the Parishioners.
- How that Charge came upon the Parishioners.
- To be repaired by the Church-wardens at the Parishioners Expence.
- Church Goods.
- Church Lands.
- Church Rates.
- Church-wardens.
- To be directed in their Presentment.
- Not to be vexed with Law Suits.
- When and by whom to be chosen.
- Who excused from serving as Church-wardens.
- None to be chosen but Inhabitants.
- When chosen must be sworn.
- And till they are sworn, cannot legally act.
- Must be sworn as often as they are chosen.
- Ought not to be continued above a Year.
- If they scruple the Oath, they may have Deputies.
- The Qualifications of a Deputy.
- The Oath that they take.
- A Writ to be obtained to command the swearing of them.
- What they are to do as soon as they are sworn.
- Have no Authority to deface any thing in the Church.
- Must always act jointly.
- What they are to do at going out of their Office.
- How they are to deliver up their Accounts.
- In what Cases and by whom to be called to After-accounts.

- Are liable to be called to account by Common Law.
- Church-yard.
- Communion, Absenters.
- Consolidations of Churches
- Counties.
- Curates.
- Custom or Prescription.
- Damages.
- Dilapidations.
- Diocesan Synods.
- Disturbers of Divine Service.
- Donations.
- Fabric and Utenfils of the Church.
- May be repaired at the Discretion of the Church-wardens.
- But nothing new to be added, without the Consent of the Parish.
- Nor in some Cases without the Consent of the Ordinary.
- Nor in the Chancel without the Consent of the Parson.
- But when Additions are made, they become the Charge of the Church-wardens.
- And if necessary, may be restored again.
- But, if not necessary, not after 40 Years Disuse.
- Gates, Stiles, and Church-ways.
- Who may have private Gates and Ways thro' the Church-yard.
- Glebes and Tythes.
- Goods of the Church.
- Isles in Churches.
- Lands.
- When given for the Repair of the Church.
- Invested in the Ministers and Church-wardens.
- Legacies.
- Lord's-day.
- Ministers.
- Not bound to perform full Service.
- Monuments.
- Ordinary.

- Out-letters.
 Overseers of the Poor.
 — How others came to be appointed.
 — What Share Church-wardens have in that Office.
 Parish Boundaries.
 — Anciently under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop.
 — How they came under the Cognizance of Common Law.
 — How to be preserved.
 Parish Meetings or Vestries.
 Parish Rates.
 Pews.
 Presentments.
 — When and how often to be made.
 — To be made upon common Fame.
 — The Church-wardens may be compelled to them by Force.
 — Are to be admonished and instructed in them by the Minister.
 — And by any Parishioner that knows any thing amiss.
 — But groundless Calumnies and Slanders not to be regarded.
 Quakers.
 Rails at the Altar.
 Rates (for the Church and Parish) not to be laid upon Glebes and Tythes, except they belong to another Parish.
 — Nor upon those that do not pay to the Poor's Rate.
 — Nor upon any Person for Land or Stock out of the Parish.
 — To be laid either upon Land or Stock.
 — To be laid upon Occupiers of Houses or Lands.
 — What Redress to be had by those that are aggrieved.
 — By whom to be made and confirmed.
 — In what Cases they may be made and gathered.

among the poor but the rich also ; for this purpose they should be as much as possible independant men, and yet know how to pay a proper deference to others equally interested with themselves in the event of their conduct, and sometimes much superior in knowledge and experience.

To encounter the most inveterate habits, and combat with custom grown formidable by impunity and length of time, is a very arduous enterprize ; but the more glorious will be the success. Whatever difference in sentiment may arise, we are sure that *infants* cannot provoke to anger or resentment ; and if the contest is who shall do most to preserve them, it will be most worthy of us all.

What a glorious opportunity will many now have to wipe off all stains by a candid submission to reasonable terms. Much will depend on the candor of the officers who may be called upon ; and if a remedy is wanting, what it ought to be, and how to make it permanent. The objects themselves cannot plead for justice or mercy, therefore the greater will be the generosity of those who plead for them. And *when* are we to show our virtue, but when the occasion calls for it ? Providence is indulgent to us all, in proportion to the opportunities of exercising our humanity. The glory of human nature is a rational exercise of it. In this view the parish officer is one of the happiest of mankind. He is called upon every hour to do some benevolent action ; at the same time that he is circumspect, as knowing how subject his humanity is to be abused.

Were it seriously considered that amidst the changes and vicissitudes of human life, your own children may become an object of the parochial charity, without any fault of yours, and that our forefathers wisely and piously meant to provide for such events, that no member of the commonwealth should perish, whilst there remained any means to preserve them; by restoring the humanity and good policy originally intended, we shall in fact bring things home to our own breast, our own children. Infants yet unborn will bless those who lend a hand or heart to accomplish this work.

Nobles and gentlemen, every man who has any property, when he is rightly informed, *will* be attentive to the object. The bills of mortality unhappily contain an eighth or ninth part of the people of England and Wales; and the greater number of people are assembled, the more numerous will be the objects of our present attention.

No event should change the fixt intrepid purpose of your mind to do your best, as an instrument in the preservation of the noblest part of the work of God, your own integrity most enobling you. You will then understand the force of that description which our favorite poet hath given us of the benevolent man (a). And what man of sentiment going into office in a parish,

- (a) " Friend, Parent, Neighbor, first it will embrace,
 " His Country next, and next all Human Race.
 " Wide and still wide, th' o'erflowings of his mind
 " Takes every creature in, of every kind.
 " Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,
 " And Heav'n beholds its image in his breast.

rish, and looking back on what has past, will entertain a wish, that he may be left to act just as he pleases, when he sees many who went before him were very negligent or cruel, and apprehends that many who will come after him will be the same. Is it not then most agreeable to reason to suppose he should be one of the first to step forth, and if he spoke all his mind, declare to this effect: " I will myself solicit for a law, whereby I may proceed on a regular plan, such as to all human appearance will *preserve* the infant poor, not such as will *destroy* them. No paultry consideration of power to do mischief, shall induce me to oppose a regulation which shall on the face of it appear salutary, and against which there can be no solid objection. If it should create any additional expence to the parish, *my share* of such expence can be but small; and if whilst I am appointed a guardian to the lives of these poor infants, to be supported by the parish money, I as parishioner act counter to my trust as an officer; if to save a trifle in my *private* capacity I violate the most sacred *public* trust, and suffer these infants to expire for *want*; how shall I answer it to my God, my country, or my own conscience. —It is true there are some emoluments appendaged to my office, such as a preference in the sale of commodities for the use of the poor; occasional treats when we meet on parish business, and such like. If I strictly discharge my duty, free from that bias which interest creates, and according to the meaning and intention of the laws of my country, perhaps I should not be concerned in *any* emolument. But if I sell as good and cheap a commodity as any other man, and leave it to a fair inspection,

specification, there can be no moral evil in it. But shall I, being left to act as I please, without fear of being called to account, sacrifice these poor infants in order to avoid encreasing the parish rates, or lest I should be challenged, on the general account, for such augmentation? Account I must, to my own heart, and to the God that made me. I am but poor, and wish I could find out honest means of mending my condition; but let me perish with honor rather than trespass on the rights of others, much more on the rights of men much poorer than myself. And as to life, the sacred object which the great giver of it guards every hour, by so wonderful a providence; shall I *dare* to *trifle* with it, and plunge myself into the guilt of indifference, whether a child lives or dies! If I am conscious that I withhold the means of life, I must be conscious too that I am instrumental to *the death*, if *death* succeeds.—I love my *own* children: shall not the same affection lead me to be tender to the children of other men? I feel myself but as a *part*, a very minute part of one stupendous *whole*. Would it not be more glorious for me to die for others, than to drag about a miserable wretched existence, with a consciousness of neglect of duty in so important an instance!”

Thus may a good man and a trusty parish officer, be supposed to think, whether he is drawn about by six horses, or sells a halfpenny worth of bread. And that every one of them may think so, and by acting consistently do honor to themselves, is the sincere wish of

Yours, J. H.

Amendment of Bills of Mortality recommended. Mercy and Compassion due to Children, as essential to the Love of our Country. Conclusion of this Volume.

LETTER LIV.

YOU have seen how some places (*a*) excel others (*b*) for health : how great the diminution of our numbers are here (*c*) : and how they encrease in other places, upon a comparison of births and burials. In the mean time we are left in the dark how *marriages* go on ; so that it is not possible to form an adequate idea, in the bills of mortality, what numbers are born proportioned to the number of inhabitants : we only know that there are but *few* marriages, and but few *children born*.—We also discover that war, commerce, and colonies, take off numbers continually, particularly males ; for if, as appears, there are 14 males to $13\frac{32}{100}$ females born, so many should also die ; but the contrary appears, for $14\frac{23}{100}$ females die to 14 males, the difference being near 1, we may reckon 1 in 14 *men* migrate from hence into the country, or out of the kingdom.

To come near a certainty, wherein the diminution chiefly lies, as to births, burials, and marriages, it is much to be wished, that we were *all* without distinction entered and registered by the company of parish clerks. To this end it was some years since proposed,

1. That all parents of children (*in these cities*) be obliged to send notice of the births, within a month after they shall happen, to the clerk of the parish, or exempt place, wherein such child is born.

2. All

2. All undertakers and other persons to give notice of the deaths, &c. to the parish clerk, or clerk of the exempt place, before the corpse be inclosed or removed.

3. The clerks of exempt places, hospitals and infirmaries, to be obliged to send their account of births and deaths, &c. to the clerk of the parish wherein situate; or if adjoining to more parishes than one, then to such parish clerk as shall be appointed thereto by the Lord Bishop of the diocese.

4. The Parish clerks to send their weekly note of births, and deaths, and also marriages, &c. upon Tuesday, as heretofore, to the common hall, or forfeit for every neglect.

5. That clerks in orders may appoint a deputy, but to be answerable for the neglects of such deputy.

6. To change the day of election for master and wardens of the company of parish clerks from Ascension day to the Monday before Whitsunday; and to oblige all parish clerks to be admitted into the company.

7. To invest the company with the sole right of printing and publishing their bills; and to fix the price of them when sold; and to render the account weekly, as heretofore, to his Majesty, and the Lord Mayor of London; and to recover twenty pounds damages from any other printer or publisher, but such as are authorised by the company.

8. The company of parish clerks to recover the penalties and forfeitures, by warrant of distress under the hand and seal of the Lord Mayor, or other Justices of the Peace; and all penalties and forfeitures to be recovered by the master or wardens of the company.

mortality, and preserve those who are such immediate objects of the *public love* and *public care*.

Amidst all our contentions and complaints, we are upon the comparison with many countries, in a happy condition: it is entirely our own faults if we do not put the state, in every circumstance, in so respectable a situation, as humanly speaking to have nothing to fear. But we can be safe, we can be formidable, we can be opulent, only from our numbers of good soldiers and sailors, manufacturers and husbandmen. Let us then apply our skill and humanity to their increase; and so far from suffering the growth of mankind to be nipt in the bud by carelessness, let us carefully encourage marriage, and promote the comforts of life among the laboring part of our fellow-subjects, whenever they bring children into the world.

The glory of the present time receives the brighter lustre from the piety and humanity of the Sovereign, and his peculiar tenderness for his own offspring: his heart is bent on doing every thing that may contribute to the good of every one. On this foundation also we may build the stronger hope, that any salutary law which can be devised to rouse the common people of these cities to a more vigilant sense of duty to their children, and particularly parish officers to preserve the children of the public, may at length be fixed on the permanent basis of true national policy, humanity and religion.

I am, yours, &c. J. H.

THE END OF VOL. I.

